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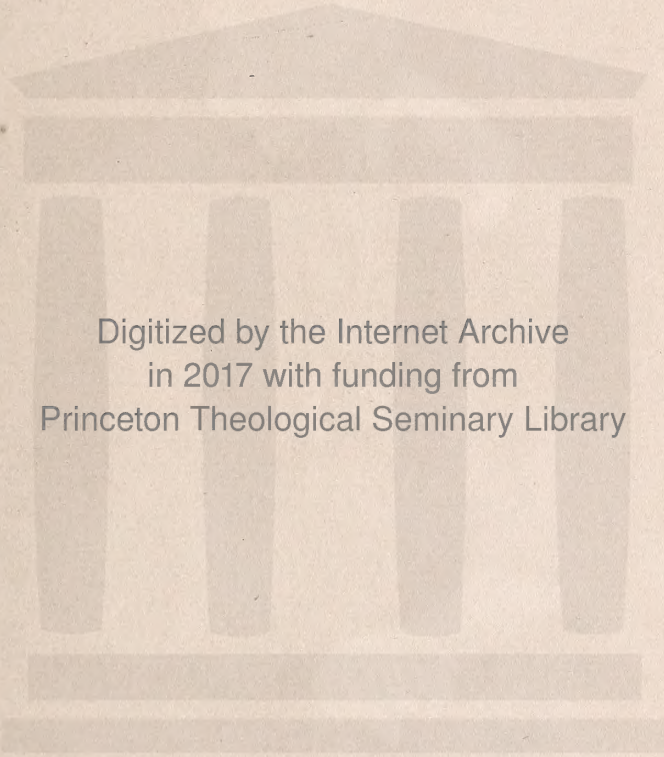
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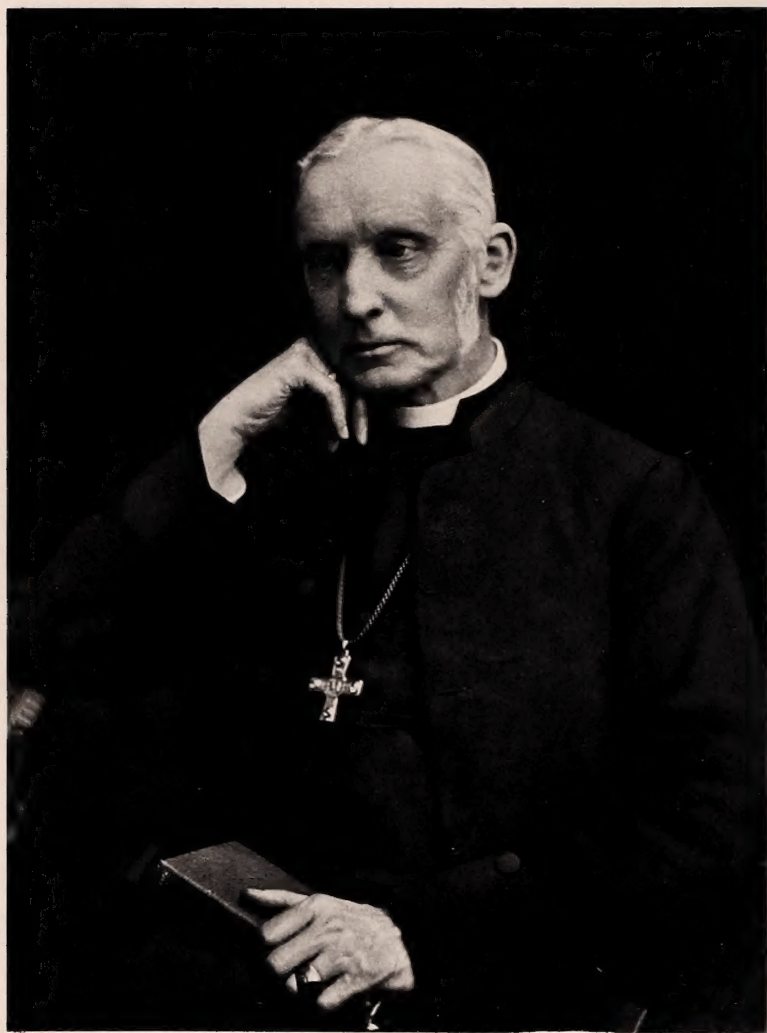
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W. W. Capetown
The Most Rev. William West Jones, D.D.
Archbishop of Capetown.

A FATHER IN GOD

THE EPISCOPATE

OF

WILLIAM WEST JONES, D.D.

ARCHBISHOP OF CAPETOWN

AND METROPOLITAN OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1874-1908

HONORARY FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

BY

MICHAEL H. M. WOOD, M.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD
DIOCESAN LIBRARIAN OF THE DIOCESE OF CAPETOWN
AND SOMETIME CHAPLAIN TO THE ARCHBISHOP

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

THE VEN. W. H. HUTTON, B.D.

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FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD
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EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

“Notus in fratres animi paterni.”

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1913



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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY
OF
HORATIO, THIRD EARL NELSON
THE FAITHFUL AND GENEROUS FRIEND OF THE CHURCH OF THE
PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND OF THE SUCCESSIVE
METROPOLITAN BISHOPS OF CAPETOWN

PREFACE

THIS Episcopate of thirty-four years in the Primatial See of the whole of South Africa, ought to be interesting from many points of view. Such, at least, was the opinion of those who, in the latter part of 1908, commissioned me to write this book : namely, Dr. Carter, then Bishop of Pretoria and Senior Bishop of the Province of South Africa, now himself Archbishop of Capetown ; the veteran Earl Nelson,¹ one of the truest and most devoted friends the South African Church has ever had ; and others who represented the relatives of the late Archbishop and the Church of the Province of South Africa. I can only hope that the result of what has been indeed a labour of love may not prove too serious a disappointment to those who placed in my hands so important and so sacred a trust.

For the contents of this volume I am myself solely responsible ; but many friends have helped me with corrections, and important items have been collected for me from the files of the *Guardian* newspaper by the Rev. Wharton B. Smith, sometime Canon of Grahamstown.

¹ The Right Hon. Horatio, 3rd Earl Nelson, born August 7, 1823, died February 25, 1913, in his ninetieth year. He had been present as long ago as April 27, 1841, at the public meeting which inaugurated the Colonial Bishopricks Fund. His peculiarly deep interest in the Church in South Africa began in 1847 with the consecration of the first Bishop of Capetown, and continued undiminished all his life long. When the "Association in Aid of the Bishop of Capetown" was formed in 1868 he became its first President, an office which he held for nearly forty-five years.

For excellent photographs of the Archbishop and of certain important Synods, I am indebted to the kindness of Miss Marion Barnard of Wynberg, Mr. W. Watson Robertson of Pietermaritzburg, and Messrs. Fripp of Capetown; for two of special interest, representing the Archbishop at Isandhlwana in 1906, to the Rev. F. G. Croom, M.A., Commissary to the Bishop of Zululand; for some of Bishops court to Mr. S. B. Barnard and to Captain W. A. F. Jones, R.F.A.; and, lastly, for the photograph of his own beautiful handiwork, the recumbent effigy in the Archbishop's Memorial Chapel in Capetown Cathedral, to Mr. C. L. Hartwell, R.B.S. I have been unable, however, to discover the name of the photographer who took the fine view of Capetown reproduced opposite p. 44.

I have also to express my most cordial thanks to the Archbishop's relatives and to Mrs. West Jones, his widow, who have put unreservedly at my disposal, with an implicit confidence which deeply touched me, his diary and many private letters, from which I have been able to make extracts adding considerably to the completeness and vividness of the narrative. The diary, indeed, is of the simplest description, a brief record of events, seldom giving the Archbishop's own thoughts and feelings, and, therefore, very seldom indeed lending itself to quotation. Still a continuous chronicle from his own hand from 1861, when he was ordained Deacon, up to the beginning of February 1908, less than four months before his death, has been most helpful for checking and supplementing information from other sources.

The story of the Episcopate of the second occupant of the See of Capetown inevitably became in a large degree the story of the Church in South Africa during those thirty-four years, and, to render this at all intelligible, a concise account

had also to be given of some of the events in the Episcopate of his great predecessor. In relating the phases of the constitutional struggle, which lasted in one form or another through both Episcopates, I have tried to treat the whole subject, as the Archbishop himself did, without bitterness and in a spirit of charity. This has been the easier and the more natural, because it has been my privilege to be on terms of friendship with several, and of close intimacy with more than one, who in years past took the opposite side in the great controversy. I have felt, however, the responsibility of making the first complete historical survey of that protracted conflict for the liberties of the Church ; inasmuch as all that happened has, even at the present day, a lively interest for the Church not merely in the Province of South Africa but in other Provinces beside, notably in Australia, New Zealand, and India, in which countries the very same questions are now to the fore, and are being most keenly debated. I have, therefore, quoted authorities wherever I could in preference to using my own words ; and, at my request, the Rev. F. W. Puller, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, has most kindly read through, and has approved, that particular section of the book and also the chapter which gives the history of the "Order of Ethiopia." Though in both these parts, as elsewhere, I remain solely responsible even for the wording and contents, yet his name will be some sort of guarantee that what is recorded is trustworthy.

The Introduction to this book has been generously written in the midst of a busy life by the Archdeacon of Northampton, a personal friend of the Archbishop, and a Fellow of the College which he loved so well.

It seems right to explain, for the sake of those to whom I am personally unknown, that my own association with the

Archbishop was long and intimate. First as Assistant Chaplain, helping him occasionally ; then as Domestic Chaplain, living in his house, and working with him day by day in his study, as secretary and amanuensis, I was in very close touch with him for the last half of his Episcopate, the seventeen years from 1891 to 1908. I was also one of his Examining Chaplains for the larger part of that period. What he was to myself, I do not even attempt to say. What he was to others, I trust that the book itself will, in some measure, reveal. But I have studiously avoided all merely laudatory phrases, such as he himself never applied to any one else, and such as would be peculiarly incongruous, if used of one who recognized so thoroughly as he, the solemnity of the office and work of a Bishop, and the strictness of the account to be given hereafter in that world into which he has now departed.

It will be generally acknowledged that I have been singularly fortunate in obtaining the interesting letters and narratives which are chiefly collected together in the last chapter. To the several persons who sent these, particularly to some three or four who are not of our own Communion, I tender once more my most heartfelt thanks, and to many others who even more powerfully and effectually, as I have abundant reason to know, have assisted me throughout in my difficult work by their earnest and constant prayers.

M. H. M. WOOD.

CHURCH HOUSE, BURG STREET,
CAPETOWN,
Michaelmas, 1913.

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MAPS

Dioceses of South and Central Africa.

Diocese of Capetown.

INTRODUCTION

THE author of this book has asked me, as one whom the late Archbishop of Capetown honoured with his friendship, to write a few words of introduction to the Biography which he has now completed. I hope he will not mind my saying how grateful all who loved the Archbishop, and all who are interested in the growth of the Church in wider Britain, must be to him for what he has done. He has written what is at the same time a record of the life of a singularly saintly and lovable man, and a history of one of the most important periods in the history of the modern Church. It seems to me that he has done so with a remarkable success, thinking wisely and charitably as he made his way through many pitfalls of intolerance and misrepresentation. I believe that he has given us a book which will take its place permanently among the ecclesiastical records of the British dependencies : certainly it deserves to do so for its candour, accuracy, lucidity, and courage. The time has come for misunderstandings to be laid aside, and Mr. Wood has helped us to forget them, and to see the history of the Church in South Africa in the full light of truth.

That we should be able to do this, two things were necessary : first, that we should know what the constitutional settlement was and how it was reached ; and, secondly, that

we should understand the character of the man during whose episcopate it was achieved.

As to the first point, I need say little. It has been admirably and most patiently explained by Mr. Wood. He has given us many details, but they are the very things that should be preserved. How glad historians would be if they knew as much about the Synod of Whitby, or the Council of Hatfield, as future students will know about the synods, their members, and their decisions, which have established on a sure foundation the South African Church. The relation of the metropolitan to his suffragans, the relations of the daughter Church to the Church of England, have been settled in such a way, we believe, as to form an enduring example and precedent for many another country and for days that are still afar off. It is as foolish for clergymen to disparage lawyers as it is for lawyers to laugh at clergymen, when both are thinking out a constitutional settlement for the Church ; but it is essential for both to remember, what was so well expressed by Mr. Gladstone, that "of all invasions into the domain of conscience, invasions on the part of the State are among the most dangerous and the most destructive." This is no matter of Establishment or Disestablishment, but of constitutional liberty and spiritual rights. We believe that both have been secured in South Africa, and it is largely due to William West Jones that they are safe.

For the second point, the biographical, is by no means unimportant in this history which Mr. Wood has written. Those who knew the Archbishop will well know what I mean, and will fill up from their own memories what Mr. Wood's reverential reticence has but sketched. The Archbishop was one of those saintly but entirely natural persons

whose simplicity is wisdom. He was very like ordinary men in having every human interest and every lovable feeling, checked by no narrow bigotry and limited by no ascetic harshness. But he was a man under discipline none the less, the discipline of Jesus Christ. He had the very qualities which we most admire in a soldier, but he showed them in the life of a priest and bishop. That was why, I think, he, who was so sincerely humble and would have repudiated almost with dismay all claims to deep learning or commanding intellect, had influence over men of all sorts and conditions which it would be difficult to exaggerate. Something is shown in this book of how much he was trusted and revered by Mr. Cecil Rhodes. His own suffragans in Africa, and his brother-bishops in England, could tell how much they relied on his saintly and sound judgement. His friends know what a charm he had, and can guess what was its source. His life throughout was a consistent and unbroken one. Wherever he went he won confidence, respect, affection, and those he never lost. Years after he had left his parish of Summertown, the people seemed to know him as well, and think as constantly of him, as if he were still with them. There is no more difficult or depressing task in Oxford than to gather a meeting to listen to some one who has long left the University and whose work has been done far over seas with no romance or excitement to keep his name in memory. But there was never any difficulty in filling a hall when Dr. West Jones came back to Oxford. People came, without any "whipping up," because they wanted again to see and hear one who stood higher in their regard than almost any other they knew, who would speak to them quite simply about what he made to sound quite simple tasks, undertaken in the Name of Christ,

and carried on under His continual benediction. Such men are indeed the best founders of the Church. Fiery eloquence, inspiring enthusiasm, masterful statesmanship, attractive originality, are not the only qualities which make men leaders when a new country is to be settled in the faith and fear of God. There is also, and it is at least as efficient, a potent force in humility and quietness and confidence. And that force belonged to the Archbishop whose life and work are told in this book. Of such as he it is indeed true that when, with the Divine Blessing, they rest from their labours, their works do follow them, here on earth where others enter into the fruit of their toil, and where beyond these voices there is peace.

W. H. HUTTON.

THE VINEYARD, PETERBOROUGH,
S. Hugh's Day, 1913.

PART I.—CHAPTERS I.—VII.

1838—1874

FIRST YEARS AND THE CALL TO THE EPISCOPATE

“No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God.”

οἶσθα πόση τῆς ἀγάπης ἡ δύναμις; τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἐξαίρετον ἀγαθόν, τὸ γνῶρισμα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν, τὸ τῶν χαρισμάτων ἀνωτέρω κείμενον, εἶδον γενναίως ἐν τῇ σῇ πεφυτευμένον ψυχῇ, καὶ πολλῶ βρῦον τῷ καρπῷ.—St. Chrysostom to St. Basil, *De Sacerdotio*, ii. 5.

CHAPTER I

Birth and education—Ordination and Assistant Curacy—Appointment to Summertown.

THE future Archbishop of Capetown and second Metropolitan of South Africa, William West¹ Jones, sixth son and youngest child in a family of ten, was born in Well Street, in the parish of South Hackney, on the 11th of May 1838. A letter is still preserved which a friend of the family wrote on that very day, and in which she says, "Another little boy Jones was born this morning." And in February 1908, almost exactly seventy years later, when Dr. E. N. Powell, this friend's nephew, came out from England to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Capetown to the Bishopric of Mashonaland, he brought this letter to show to the then Archbishop, who was much amused by this early reference to himself.

Edward Henry Jones, the Archbishop's father, was a merchant in the City, a man held in very high respect by all who knew him. The Archbishop's mother, Mary Emma, was noted for a remarkable sweetness and gentleness, combined with great strength of character. The Archbishop once said that he owed her a special gratitude for having taught him to learn something by heart each day from the book of Psalms.² To both father and mother, and indeed

¹ He was named after his godfather and cousin, Mr. W. West, of Gliffaes, Crickhowell, Breconshire.

² A volume on the Psalms was always acceptable to him, and in 1906, in thanking a niece who had sent him such a book, he wrote: "The more Messianic we make the Psalms to be, the more we shall appreciate them, and the better use we shall make of them." And he added that Christians can recite the Psalms as hallowed by the lips of Christ Himself; for "The idea of our using the Psalms, as ourselves in Christ, and as part of His Body, is very good and true."

to all his relatives, he was very warmly attached, as his letters and diary testify.

In April 1845, when not quite seven years old,¹ William West Jones was entered as a day-boy on the books of Merchant Taylors' School, and thither he went for eleven years till 1856, when he was elected Probationary Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, on the old foundation. Under that ancient system he became, after three years of probation, a full Fellow of the College; and such he continued to be after his departure to South Africa, and until his marriage in 1879. He was afterwards elected in 1893, at the same time as his friend R. S. Copleston, then Bishop of Colombo, to an Honorary Fellowship, a distinction which he greatly appreciated.

Though his tutor was the celebrated Henry Longueville Mansel, in later years Dean of St. Paul's, and though by no means deficient himself in intellectual ability, yet ill-health prevented him from obtaining more than a Second Class in Moderations in 1858, and obliged him subsequently to give up reading for Honours in the Final Schools. But both in *Literae Humaniores*, a school including Classics, History, Philosophy, and Logic, and also in Mathematics, he was awarded in 1860 an "Honorary Fourth Class." The University was then wont to recognize in this way the merit of a candidate whose papers were exceptionally good, but who had been hindered by illness, or by other unavoidable causes, from qualifying for Honours.

Those who knew him in after life may trace in this twofold training and proficiency, Classical and Mathematical, two characteristics which always distinguished him, clearness in argument and readiness in numerical calculations. "He would have made an excellent lawyer," observed one who

¹ One small incident of his early childhood is worth recording, in view of the office to which in later life he was called. Either before the beginning of his school-days or soon after, the Rector of South Hackney, the Rev. Henry Handley Norris, was taking him to see some of the sights of London, and as they were passing the Mansion House he said to him, "Wouldn't you like to be Lord Mayor of London, and live there?" But he replied at once, "No; I would much rather be Archbishop of Canterbury." After this Mr. Norris's playful name for him always was "The little Archbishop." Mr. Norris himself was a man of some note and influence. He had been one of the founders in 1811 of the National Society, of which he became the first Secretary. His brother-in-law, John James Watson (brother of Joshua Watson, another founder and the first Treasurer of that Society), was Rector of Hackney and Archdeacon of St. Alban's.

was a lawyer himself. It was often said of him in Capetown, "The Archbishop is a capital man of business"; and in Synods, Conferences, and Committees, or in ordinary conversation, he was wonderfully quick to discover a flaw in reasoning or an error in figures.

On Michaelmas Day, Sunday, September 29, 1861, he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. But his first work was to be in the Diocese of London, an assistant curacy without stipend at St. Matthew's, City Road, under the Rev. Walter Lawrell.

His diary begins at the beginning of his ministerial life :

Friday, Oct. 4.—Arrived at St. Matthew's. May it be a happy and a holy sojourn there both for myself and for those amongst whom I am placed.

Here a year passed away very happily, and in much the same kind of work as falls to the lot of any young Deacon in a town parish. He found recreation in music, in visits to picture galleries, and in watching occasionally the great matches at Lord's cricket ground, for cricket always was to him an absorbing interest.¹ On Thursday, September 18, 1862, he presented himself at the Bishop of Oxford's private house at Lavington, in Sussex, for examination for Priests' Orders. He notes that the Bishop of Capetown was staying there, and when on Sunday, September 21, St. Matthew's Day, he was ordained Priest by the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Capetown was the preacher, and also gave an address in the evening to the newly ordained, who were, in all, four Priests and five Deacons. How little did Robert Gray think that amongst those few whom he was instructing

¹ As Bishop of Capetown, he used always to scan most eagerly the cricketing intelligence in the Capetown daily papers, and knew all about the principal local matches, and the recent county matches in England; and his tall figure could be frequently seen amongst the spectators on the Newlands cricket ground, especially on Saturday afternoons. A Priest in his Diocese, now of many years' standing, writes that, when he was quite a young Deacon in charge of a distant Mission station, the Bishop presented him with a copy of *Lilywhite's Cricketing Annual*, saying, "You can have this, if you like; I have finished with it." "It was a revelation to me," he says, "to find that my Bishop could take an interest in cricket. This led me to speak fully of my difficulties, and to discover what a true Father in God the Bishop was. Among other things, I spoke of the diffidence I felt in teaching those candidates for Confirmation who were older, and, as I sometimes thought, better informed than myself. I shall never forget how the Bishop spoke to me, beginning with the words, 'Does then the Grace of Ordination count for nothing?' I learnt lessons in that interview for which I can never be sufficiently thankful."

in the duties of the Sacred Ministry was one who, less than twelve years later, would succeed him as Bishop in the See of Capetown !

Curiously enough, the newly ordained Priest was to find on that Ordination Sunday another link with Africa and Capetown ; for in the afternoon he walked over to attend Evensong in Graffham Church, where the preacher was William George Tozer, Bishop-Elect of the Zambesi Missionary Bishopric in Central Africa ; and the Missionary Bishop to the tribes on the banks of the Zambesi was at this time still regarded as one of the Bishop of Capetown's Suffragans. So again he was one of the four hundred communicants at Tozer's consecration in Westminster Abbey on February 2, 1863, the Feast of the Purification, when the Bishop of Capetown was one of the consecrating Bishops.

Early in 1864 he accepted from his College the parish of Summertown, near Oxford. But he did not leave St. Matthew's, City Road, till the end of September. It was characteristic of him that the day before his departure he took the choir boys to the Crystal Palace and treated them to a thoroughly boyish holiday ; for, as he says, " we had rowing, racing, and charging in boats, etc." These same boys had also evidently appreciated his unfailing personal interest in them, for they presented him with a gold ring in the " Rosary " of the Crystal Palace.

CHAPTER II

The incumbency of Summertown, 1864-1874.

IN 1864 a long stretch of arable and pasture land separated Summertown from the northernmost houses of Oxford on the Banbury Road. The whole parish was then quite in the country. On the west were open fields which stretched away with a very gentle slope towards the Great Western Railway, Port Meadow, and the Upper Thames. On the east the ground was more broken. There were undulating green fields, thick hedges full of fine elms and oaks, and fascinating pathways, with many a quaint stile to cross, before the steep little descent into the deep-lying valley of the reedy Cherwell. Certainly in the spring or summer this eastern countryside was extraordinarily beautiful, and almost justified the enthusiasm of the first inhabitant of the village, who gave it the poetic name of Summertown.¹

The new Vicar, who began work here on Michaelmas Day, took the keenest delight in his parish. He often in after life referred to the years at Summertown as a very happy time ; and some one once said that he thought the Archbishop, as he then was, with all his manifest qualifications for Episcopal office and work, really felt the loss of that intimate personal friendship which naturally knits together a parish priest and his people. And the Rev. W. E.

¹ His name was James Lambourne. He was a native of Cumnor, and had been a general dealer who travelled the country in a cart like a small gipsy van, before he settled down here in the year 1820, like some ancient Greek founding a colony. He and his wife built their little cottage with stone fetched from beyond Kidlington. After other houses had grown up round it, he set up a board with his own name upon it, and also the words "Somer's Town," which he explained to mean that he had called the spot "after the pleasantest season of the year," because he reckoned it "the pleasantest place in all England, nay in all the world." The spelling, like the man, is original.

Slingsby,¹ once a lay worker at Summertown, now a priest of many years' standing in the Capetown Diocese, writes :

I remember so well, how, when I was taking him round to visit my parishioners at Swellendam, he said, "Slingsby, I do so enjoy this : it is part of that old life, which I cannot get now, because I am a Bishop, and a Bishop's time is not his own."

As there was no Vicarage in Summertown, the Vicar took rooms for himself in the village ; and in later years, when his eldest sister, Miss J. A. Jones, came to make her home with him, he had a house of his own, called "Field View." But throughout his incumbency he still kept his rooms in College, as Fellow of St. John's, and his own energy, coupled with the fact that he had a succession of faithful fellow-workers in the parish, enabled him, while doing full justice to Summertown, to take his share in College and University life, and to hold in his turn the offices of Bursar, Dean, and Vice-President of St. John's.

On January 29, 1865, he writes :

Glorious morning. Tremendously cold : Thermometer last night at 10°. Walked out to early Celebration at Summertown, and in the evening walked into Oxford after Service.

And on Sunday, February 4, 1866 :

Walked out to Summertown. . . . Then into Oxford to lunch, and heard Goulburn² preach the University Sermon. It was very fine. The subject the limits to the power of God, and the text, "God, Who cannot lie." Prepared my evening sermon, and walked out to Summertown to tea, and evening Service. Back in a storm of thunder, lightning, rain, and hail, with a perfect hurricane blowing. Got very wet. Could hardly keep my legs some of the way.

Going thus often to and fro, he had opportunities of meeting many distinguished men, and heard, from time to time, some of the most noted preachers of the day, as for instance Carter, Pusey, Liddon, Burgon. Of the first named (Canon T. T. Carter, uncle of the present Archbishop of Capetown) he says in his diary :

¹ Ordained in the Capetown Diocese, 1883. Another Summertown parishioner is the Rev. J. Deacon, Rector of Sea Point, ordained at Capetown, 1881.

² E. M. Goulburn, afterwards Dean of Norwich.

Heard Carter preach at St. Mary's, a long but a magnificent sermon. A more beautiful face, I think, I hardly ever saw.

The other three are all mentioned during March 1867 in the following words :

March 7.—Burgon came in, and we walked over to Summer-town. He preached a very plain, practical, and rather quaint sermon.

March 8.—Went to St. Mary's and heard Liddon preach magnificently : mainly on the work of natural Law with the Gentiles and revealed Law with the Jews, in preparing men for the coming of Christ.

March 20.—Heard Pusey preach at St. Mary's. The Church crammed : a magnificent sermon on the worship due to Christ.

He also attended and voted at meetings of the Fellows of the College, and at elections to various University offices.

Yet he was very thorough, and never at all slackened his work as parish priest, giving much time and attention to the visitation of his parishioners, to the preparation of his parochial sermons, and to the training of his choir, and taking part in all that concerned the welfare of the parish, including its amusements, such as cricket matches, concerts, choir suppers and excursions, and other social events.

In the village of Summertown besides another school, St. Edward's, which was developed on different lines, there was a preparatory school for boys—"Summerfield," as it was then named, but also familiarly known as "Maclaren's," and amongst the boys themselves as "Mister's." It belonged to Mr. Archibald Maclaren, a great authority on physical training, on which he had written a very popular book ; and Mrs. Maclaren, who was an accurate classical scholar herself, and an extraordinarily able teacher, for many years took the chief part in the instruction of the Sixth Form. In this school, which had been only recently founded, the new Vicar took a deep interest from the very first, and soon arranged to hold a class regularly for the instruction of the boys in religious knowledge. In 1868 he chronicles in his diary with evident delight the success of one of the boys : "Macmillan¹ has won an Eton Scholarship—tremendous rejoicing." Till he left the parish he never ceased to

¹ G. A. Macmillan, Hon. D.Litt., Director of the firm of Macmillan & Co.

be a true friend and counsellor to those in charge of the school in all the difficulties of its early days. And after he became Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of South Africa, he generally found his way to Summerfield whenever he was in England.¹ To this school in later years he sent his own sons, and he maintained his love of it up to the end of his life. On the mantelpiece of his study at Bishops court there was a charming photograph of some Summerfield boys of the old days in cricketing caps and flannels, and on the wall near the door hung a large coloured picture of the Holy Family given him by the boys, at the time of his Consecration, and inscribed : "Pastori desideratissimo pueri de Summerfield."

Those who worked with him as his Assistant Curates have much to say about his personal attractiveness, and about the care which he expended upon his parish. The Rev. L. J. Chamberlen writes :

After an interval of forty years, I look back upon William West Jones as an ideal Vicar. To us, his Assistant Curates, he was kindness itself, always ready to encourage, and not afraid to apply the spur, if one grew at all slack in visiting one's district, about which he was very particular. He was an excellent financier, and all parochial accounts were kept in splendid order ; as I found when, on his appointment to Capetown, I was left in temporary charge of Summertown. He had great influence with the lads of the parish, and two of the pupil teachers were led to take Holy Orders.

Many will remember his wonderful reading in Church,² and especially when the Lesson was from one of the Epistles. He was very young, both in looks and in manner, and his hearty, ringing laugh sounds still in my ears after all this lapse of time.

Similarly, the Rev. E. R. Massey dwells upon his "charming personality, his manliness, frankness, transparent sincerity, and sympathetic nature."

¹ When he visited the school on his first return to England in 1878, two or three small boys, all quite unknown to him, were standing at the entrance gate. The tall young Bishop instantly singled out one by resemblance of face, and recognized him as a brother of a boy whom he had known in the school four years before. By a chain of circumstances quite unconnected with this incident, the boy thus identified became many years afterwards his Domestic Chaplain. In 1893, as Metropolitan of South Africa, the Bishop consecrated another old Summerfield boy, W. E. Smyth, at that time a missionary in Zululand, to be first Bishop of Lebombo.

² It is interesting to find the same thing noted much later by one well qualified to judge, the Rev. W. Bright, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford : "It tended much," he writes on May 8, 1889, "to the improvement of my Easter, to hear you read the second lesson in St. Mary Magdalene's."

And the Rev. H. S. Syers, now Vicar of St. Saviour's, Paddington, and Hon. Canon of Peterborough, says :

He had much that was attractive, both in appearance and in manner, was of a most affectionate disposition, and was ever most unselfish, where he could be in any way a help to others. Though a strict disciplinarian, and expecting all who worked with him thoroughly to fulfil their duty, yet he was never harsh or imperious, and it was a real pleasure to obey him. As a preacher, though not eloquent, in the sense of rounded periods or great sentences, he had a very picturesque, clear, and convincing way of putting any subject, and on Sunday evenings many would come up from Oxford to the little Summertown Church, when he was to preach the sermon.

In every respect he was most manly and straightforward, and naturally drew men to him, and this characteristic accounted largely for the influence which, as I understand, he always had with the Government at the Cape. He was a born leader of men.

CHAPTER III

The Bishoprics of the Orange Free State ; Victoria, Hong-Kong ;
and Capetown.

IN 1866, when the Colenso controversy was at its height, the Vicar of Summertown did not shrink from publicly expressing his sympathy with the Bishop of Capetown, Robert Gray, and with his own Diocesan, Samuel Wilberforce, who was championing the Bishop of Capetown's cause in Convocation.

Two years later he writes of an E.C.U. meeting¹ at Oxford on March 3, 1868, at which "the Bishop of Capetown spoke on the South African Church," and of a dinner on June 6 "at the Vice-Chancellor's to meet the Bishop of Capetown," and again of the presence of the Bishop of Capetown at the Cuddesdon Festival on June 9.

Thus he had been already greatly interested in South Africa ; but his interest was now to become, for personal reasons, stronger still.

In the latter part of 1870 the Bishop of Capetown, who had been forced to visit England again on account of the very serious state of Mrs. Gray's health, was anxiously considering, as Metropolitan of South Africa, the appointment to the vacant See of the Orange Free State.² In this anxiety it was not at all unnatural that his thoughts should turn to the Vicar of Summertown, whom he had met on more than one occasion, as mentioned above, and of whose activity and zeal, both as Fellow of St. John's College and

¹ He had joined the E.C.U. in 1865, and subsequently became in 1886 one of its first Episcopal Vice-Presidents, an office which he held uninterruptedly until his death in 1908, when a very appreciative obituary notice of him appeared in the *Church Union Gazette*.

² When this See fell vacant in 1869 the first person elected was N. J. Merriman, Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) of Grahamstown, but he had refused it.

as parish priest, he had doubtless heard a good deal through his own intimate friend, Dr. Wilberforce, now Bishop of Winchester.

Moreover, it was extremely important that the new Bishop should be a man of real spiritual ability and of strong force of character. And the Vicar of Summertown, who had been recently offered by Dr. Mackarness, Bishop of Oxford, the Vicarage of St. Giles', Reading, which he had refused, and by Dr. Jackson, Bishop of London, a Whitehall Preacher-ship, which he had accepted, obviously seemed, in the estimation of these Bishops, to have qualities of some such kind. To him accordingly the Bishop of Capetown wrote on September 14, 1870,¹ asking whether he would accept the Bishopric of the Orange Free State, and explaining that the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese, and the Bishops of the Province of South Africa, had "united in asking the S.P.G. to choose" a Bishop, that hitherto nothing had been done beyond the appointment of a Committee, but that the Committee would be unlikely to raise objections to anyone whom he might recommend. The Vicar went at once to see the Bishop of Capetown in London, and a few days later to consult the Bishop of Winchester, and then the Rev. W. T. Bullock, Secretary of the S.P.G. Finally, on October 1, after another interview with the Bishop of Winchester and Mr. Bullock, he decided to decline.

Two full years now went by in active Parochial and Diocesan work. In 1871 he became Joint-Inspector of the Church Schools in the Oxford Rural Deanery, and then Rural Dean of Oxford. He took a prominent part in the formation of "a more vigorous organization for S.P.G. in Oxford," and in the arrangements for the first Oxford Diocesan Conference. He also showed a deep interest in Church matters outside the Diocese, attending in 1871 a meeting of Clergy to consider the "Purchas Judgement," and writing a letter to the *Guardian* upon the Judgement itself. In September 1872 Dr. Jackson, Bishop of London, wrote

¹ The Bishop of Capetown wrote to the Bishop of Winchester that he had "offered the Bishopric" to him, adding, "I like what I have seen of him very much. He is young, but he seems very sober, and likely, I think, to evangelize, if spared, that large region" (*Life of R. Gray, Bishop of Capetown*, by C. Gray, vol. ii. p. 506). The name of the See was changed to Bloemfontein, and eventually Allan Becher Webb, Rector of Avon Dassett, was consecrated in Inverness Cathedral, November 30, 1870.

an autograph letter to him, inquiring whether he knew of any one willing to go out for a year or eighteen months to Zanzibar, to assist Dr. Steere, Head of the Universities' Mission, who was suffering from overwork. The hope in the Bishop's mind evidently was that he might, at such a crisis, volunteer himself. But he seems to have felt that he had not the special qualifications needed. At the end of 1872 the Rev. Thomas Browning, Rector of St. John's, Capetown, came to Summertown as a deputation from the S.P.G.; and his visit was not without its influence upon the Vicar's future; for the information he gave about South Africa proved so interesting that it predisposed him in favour of accepting the Bishopric of Capetown offered to him in the following year.

It is a curious fact, moreover, though not mentioned by himself, that Mr. Browning said to him in private conversation after the Sunday evening Service: "Mr. Jones, you have no doubt heard of the death of my Bishop, Robert Gray. I should so like to see you appointed his successor: I feel sure you would be the very man for us." "Well, Mr. Browning," was his reply, "that idea is utterly impossible." Yet what he thought impossible did in the end come to pass.

Another Bishopric, Victoria, Hong-Kong, was offered to him in March 1873 by Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, who wrote very kindly, saying:

I have been led to think that, if you felt able to undertake the office, this would be, with God's blessing, a benefit to the Church. We want a man to breathe new life into the Missionary work of S.P.G. in that part of the world, and at the same time to represent the Church of England well amongst the English settlers in Hong-Kong.

But the work was one requiring unusual gifts of physical strength and linguistic ability. So after consultation with Edward King, Principal of Cuddesdon, and Dr. Mackarness, Bishop of Oxford, he declined. How vast, indeed, was the field of labour for this Missionary Bishop is thus described by the Secretary of the S.P.G.:

His work ought to be distinctly Missionary: to learn the language, and to spend his life in planting, with help from the

English Societies, mission-stations among Chinese from one end of China to the other. He should do in China something like the work which Bishop Gray did in South Africa.

In the Providence of God, however, the Vicar of Summer-town was soon to be called, not indeed to imitate from a distance that noble "pioneer and founder," as he has been so aptly named, not to do a similar task in the far east of another continent, but actually to maintain and to extend that great Bishop's work in his own Province of South Africa, and in the self-same Diocese of Capetown. The first indication of this came in July, only four months after the offer of the Bishopric of Victoria. He was staying at the time with one of his brothers, Mr. F. M. T. Jones,¹ at Ambleside, in the Lake district, when there arrived from Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester, a letter headed "Secret," though, of course, all reason for secrecy has now long since passed away.

July 16, 1873.

MY DEAR JONES—Do you mind telling *me*, who am not one of the electors, but only deeply interested in the welfare of the Capetown Diocese, whether you would be disposed to undertake that Bishopric, if offered to you? I am ever most sincerely, Yours affectionately,

S. WINTON.

The reply despatched, after much consideration, on the same day on which this letter was received, ran as follows :

LESKEITH HOW, AMBLESIDE,

July 18, 1873.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP—Your kind note has just reached me here, where I am spending part of my summer holiday. Before I could give an answer to the question it contains, I must ask you to be so good as to give me some information as to the circumstances of the See. (Here follow questions about the work ; whether amongst Europeans or not ; whether the office of Metropolitan is necessarily connected with the Bishopric ; what are the means of maintenance, etc.) . . . I need not tell you how utterly unfit I should feel to succeed such a man as the late noble Bishop. But of

¹ This brother afterwards acted for a long time as his Lay Commissary in England. For thirty-seven years he was privately, as well as publicly, a most generous benefactor of the Capetown Diocese and of the Province of South Africa. On inheriting, late in life, the property of Mr. Wheatley Balme, he took the additional name of Balme. He died on November 13, 1911.

that others must be judges, and very few indeed are worthy to take his place—perhaps none. But some are more fit than the rest: and I cannot but shrink from it, as wholly, in my own judgement, *unfit*. Then, if you answer my second question in the affirmative, how could so young and inexperienced a man as I am, venture to take precedence in South Africa of such men as Bishops Merriman, Welby, and Macrorie? I cannot tell you how I shrink from it, with fear and trembling at my unworthiness, and with the certainty that there must be many who would consent to go, and are infinitely more qualified by age and experience to fill the office than I am.

I am sorry to trouble you with so long a letter and so many questions, but I know, from past experience, that you will not mind my writing thus to you, and I should be really grateful for any information you would be kind enough to send me. Believe me, my dear Lord, Yours most sincerely and affectionately,

W. W. JONES.

The record in the diary is extremely brief:

July 18 (Friday).—Had a letter to-day from the Bishop of Winchester, asking me whether I was willing to be nominated to Bishopric of Capetown. Wrote for more information.

July 19 (Saturday).—Bishop of Winchester thrown from his horse to-day, and killed.

July 21 (Monday).—Heard to-day of the sad death of Bishop of Winchester. God guide all for good to His Church.

As the last words quoted clearly imply, the Vicar took it for granted that the Bishop's sudden death ended at once any question of the Capetown Bishopric. But in this he was mistaken. The Bishop must have received his reply in London on the morning of July 19, for he wrote of it that afternoon to the Bishop of Edinburgh,¹ just before he went out for his fatal ride. And, after all, the correspondence, so tragically cut short, had much to do with the offer of the See of Capetown to the Vicar of Summertown, and with his ultimate acceptance.

¹ Henry Cotterill, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh from 1872 to 1886, had been Senior Wrangler and first Smith's Prizeman at Cambridge, and also ninth in the Classical Tripos. Consecrated second Bishop of Grahamstown on November 23, 1856, in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, he was then of a very different mind from Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown, but soon became one of his firmest and most loyal friends. He resigned the See of Grahamstown in July 1871, to work as Coadjutor Bishop of Edinburgh, succeeding to the See itself in the following year. He died at Edinburgh, April 16, 1886.

CHAPTER IV

The Elective Assembly at Capetown—*Declaration by South African Bishops upon "The Oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop" prescribed in the Ordinal.*

It is necessary now to glance at what had happened up to this date (July 1873) in the matter of the vacant See of Capetown.

Robert Gray, first Bishop of Capetown, and first Metropolitan of South Africa, entered into his rest on September 1, 1872, after a memorable episcopate of twenty-five years, memorable, not merely for the famous cases connected with the two names of Long and Colenso, but also for the Bishop's unwearied pioneering labours, his Missionary enthusiasm, his devoted pastoral work, his successful partition of his vast original Diocese into seven (or even eight¹), and for what may be regarded as the crowning achievement of his long and self-denying labours, the consolidation of the Province of South Africa by the holding of the first Provincial Synod in 1870. Amongst the Canons passed by this Synod were two which provided rules respectively for the contingency of a vacancy in the Metropolitan See, and for the Election of any Bishop, whether Diocesan or Metropolitan.

Accordingly, after the death of its first Metropolitan Bishop, the Diocese of Capetown proceeded to elect a successor in conformity with these rules. The first Elective Assembly was composed of the Clergy of the Diocese, together with representative laymen, the latter elected by the several parishes, and it met on Wednesday December 18, 1872. *The Church News*, the South African Church newspaper of the time, makes it clear enough that any unanimous

¹ See p. 143.

election was from the first improbable. Some wished to have the Archdeacon of the Cape as their future Bishop. Some thought it better that the new Bishop should come direct from England. The Assembly itself, after the defeat of a motion for delegation, adjourned for private conference, which resulted in a compromise. Instead of the direct election of one person, or of the absolute delegation of the choice, the two parties agreed to adopt the mid-way alternative, then permitted by the Canon *Of Election of Bishops*, and to nominate two persons, of whom the Bishops of the Province should select one. The persons thus nominated were the Bishop of Grahamstown (the Right Rev. N. J. Merriman, D.D.), and the Archdeacon of the Cape (the Ven. Hopkins Badnall, D.D.).

There can be no doubt that those keenly desiring the election of Badnall, calculated to win their object by a concession which was more apparent than real. They knew that the Bishops were averse to accepting Badnall as their Metropolitan, and, if a single name only should be submitted to them, would possess a perfect right, under section xv. of the same Canon 3 (as it then stood), to refuse to confirm the election. But, by the nomination of these two, they thought to force the hands of the Bishops. For should the Bishops select Merriman, and should he decline—and it was perfectly well known beforehand that he would decline—then, as they reasoned, the Bishops were necessarily bound to choose the only remaining person, *i.e.* Badnall. For part of section i. of the Canon ran thus :

The Electors may, if they should desire it, nominate two or more persons, of whom the Bishops of the Province shall select one.

The imperative “shall” seemed to leave no loophole of escape.

A complete surprise, however, was in store for those who argued thus. The Bishops, on receiving the names of the two persons nominated, announced that the Bishop of Grahamstown had withdrawn his name, before they had proceeded to make the necessary selection. They, therefore, required the Assembly to resume its deliberations, and to elect *de novo*. The two reasons they gave were :

(a) That the name of the Bishop of Grahamstown "had been submitted to us under a misapprehension on the part of a very considerable number of the Electors"; and

(b) "Under these circumstances we are not able fully to assure ourselves of a majority of the Assembly having been in favour of the one remaining name being thus finally submitted to us by itself, and we are accordingly desirous to certify ourselves of the fact by a more decisive expression of the mind of the Assembly, given under a clearer view of the case."

But they made a very reasonable, and indeed a very generous, offer. If Badnall should now be elected, they explicitly promised to confirm his election and to consecrate him.

Subsequently, as objections were made, on legal and technical grounds, to the validity of another, or second, election under the same Mandate, the Bishops adopted what they described as "a purely technical mode of procedure, simply in order to clear the way for a new election." Being advised that they must select one or other of the two names, and could not recognize the withdrawal of either, they selected the name of the Bishop of Grahamstown. Then, in consequence of his refusal to be translated to the See of Capetown, they themselves refused (under section xv.) to "confirm" his election, and the Acting Metropolitan, the Bishop of St. Helena, forthwith issued a fresh Mandate for a fresh election.

The second Elective Assembly was summoned for May 7, 1873. Before the Bishops dispersed they drew up in Synod on February 28, a very important Declaration, to the effect that every Suffragan Bishop ought to take the Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Metropolitan of his own Province, and to no other; and that no Archbishop, or Metropolitan of a Province, should be required to take such an oath to any other Archbishop or Metropolitan. This Declaration is of such great importance, and reference was so frequently made to it, both in after years, and in the correspondence which now ensued, that it is quoted in full at the end of this chapter.¹

At the second Elective Assembly on May 7, a long

¹ The Bishops who signed it were: St. Helena (Welby), Acting Metropolitan; Maritzburg (Macrorie); Bloemfontein (Webb); Grahamstown (Merriman).

memorial or protest was read, signed by a large number of the priests of the Diocese, who maintained that the Bishops had done wrong, after the withdrawal of the Bishop of Grahamstown's name, in refusing to accept the Archdeacon of the Cape as duly elected. When the Assembly had been formally constituted, an adjournment for an hour was moved, and carried unanimously. Soon after the Assembly had resumed, Canon Ogilvie announced that Badnall's name had been withdrawn. After some discussion the name of the Archdeacon of Grahamstown, Henry Master White, was proposed. The votes of the Clergy gave him a majority of 7 (for, 23 ; against, 16) ; but the Laity negatived the election by the narrow majority of 2 (for, 20 ; against, 22). Thereupon it was unanimously resolved to delegate to the Archbishop of Canterbury with two others, Henry Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh (formerly Bishop of Grahamstown), and the Rev. W. T. Bullock, Secretary of the S.P.G. The Bishop of Lincoln (Christopher Wordsworth) was elected to act, should either of the latter two decline. It was further resolved that the President of the Elective Assembly should seek the concurrence of the Acting Metropolitan that the consecration might be in England, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury ; and that the Assembly should adjourn till August 6, to receive the reply of the Bishops of the Province, the quorum for the purpose of receiving it to be the President, four of the Clergy, and five of the Laity.

DECLARATION by the Bishops of the Province of South Africa upon
"The Oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop" as set forth
in the text and rubrics of the Ordinal attached to the Book of
Common Prayer.

Whereas, before the decease of the late Metropolitan, some misunderstandings had arisen with regard to the due canonical relations subsisting between the Metropolitan and Bishops of this Province on the one part, and the Archi-episcopal See of Canterbury on the other.

We, the undersigned Bishops of the Province in Synod assembled, in the hope of avoiding any recurrence of the same, deem it needful to declare our judgement ; that it is according to the mind of the English Church, as expressed in the Ordinal or Form of Conse-

crating Bishops, that every Suffragan Bishop should take the Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Metropolitan of his own Province and to no other, and that no Archbishop or Metropolitan of a Province should be required to take such oath to any other Archbishop or Metropolitan. This we conclude from the rubric to that effect following the form of Oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop set forth in the aforementioned Service, from which Oath an Archbishop is exempt, as we hold, only by virtue of his being a Metropolitan.

We are aware that the acceptance of such an oath is urged as a bond of union between the Colonial and Missionary Churches and the Mother Church of England. But on the one hand, no legal safeguard is thereby provided against departure from the teaching of the Church of England, and on the other, conformity with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England is most effectually secured by the terms of the Articles of the Constitution of the Church of this Province, which every Bishop before consecration, as a condition of holding office in this Church, is pledged faithfully to maintain by a solemn declaration, having legal force under the law of voluntary compact.

At the same time we are fully prepared to accept readily any further provision for securing close and enduring union which may be devised in common, or at any General Synod representing the Churches of the Anglican Communion ; and we do also unreservedly acknowledge the honour that is due from us to the Primate of All England, and the reverence and affection which we owe to the most ancient and venerable Archi-episcopal Throne of Canterbury. It must, however, be borne in mind that that great and venerable See has not as yet been constituted a Patriarchate by any legislative enactment, either of Church or State. The extreme danger of an assumption of authority on the part of the Chief See of one Province over other Provinces of the Church, without a due limitation prescribed by Canons, has been clearly exhibited in the history of the encroachment on the part of the Patriarchate of Rome upon the rights of Metropolitans ; and the jealousy with which the Church of England has guarded against similar encroachments is sufficiently evident from the careful preservation of the independence of the Province of York, as well as of the Provinces of Armagh and Dublin, even when the Churches of England and Ireland were by law united.

Inasmuch as the Constitution and Government of the Church of England, with which we desire to be heartily and loyally in Communion, are based upon the fundamental principle of conformity to the order and usage of the Primitive Church, we are constrained to vindicate our common Constitution on a point wherein experience has proved the liability of infringement.

CHAPTER V

Final report of the Capetown Elective Assembly reaches England—
Offer of the See of Capetown to the Vicar of Summertown,
October 1873.

THE consent of the Bishops of the Province of South Africa to the delegation desired by the Capetown Elective Assembly, and the concurrence of the Acting Metropolitan with the wish expressed for a consecration in England and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, were in due course reported on August 6, 1873, to the appointed representatives of the Elective Assembly.

News to this effect must have reached England about the end of August, and soon afterwards Dr. Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh, one of the three in whose hands the delegation had been placed, thought himself justified in writing a letter to the Vicar of Summertown, in which the following paragraph is the most important, and refers to the vacant Bishopric of Capetown :

I was in correspondence with the late Bishop of Winchester about you, and he informed me of the result of his letter to you. Indeed he wrote to me respecting you on the very day of his death, and I think that it may be one inducement to you to undertake this office—if (as I believe will be the case) the Archbishop should offer it—that the late Bishop had a very strong feeling as to your suitability for this very important post.¹

¹ The influence this particular communication had upon the Vicar's mind is thus described by himself in a letter written on March 18, 1874, to the Bishop of Maritzburg: "I believe I should have altogether declined from the first a post for which I was in no way equal in experience or power of mind, but for the fact that the late Bishop of Winchester wrote, the very day of his death, expressing his strong wish that I should be nominated to it. To him I should have gone first for counsel, had he been alive, so that the expression of his wish seemed to me like a voice from the grave." Two letters, just written, were found on Dr. Wilberforce's table, after his death by a fall from his horse near Abinger in Surrey in the afternoon of July 19. One of the two was this letter to the Bishop of Edinburgh.

This was the very first intimation the Vicar had received that the Bishop of Winchester's sudden death more than a month before had not terminated for him, once for all, any question of the Bishopric. In his reply on September 2 he said :

I have read with a good deal of interest, and, since the late Bishop Wilberforce's letter to me, have carefully re-perused so far as I could obtain it, the account of what transpired in Cape Town with reference to the Election and appointment of the new Bishop, and I see that there are very delicate questions arising out of those circumstances, and that the future Bishop will probably have an extremely difficult part to play on his arrival, and perhaps can scarcely expect from the opponents of this mode of appointment (*i.e.* delegation) a very cordial reception. But still this must be faced by the new Bishop, whoever he is ; and I do not know that one ought to shrink for that reason, nor that I am less fitted than others to face opposition. By faith and patience such difficulties will certainly be overruled by God for good. What I do fear is my want of age and experience, and my utter incapacity to follow such a man as the late revered Bishop. Still my personal knowledge of him, and past communication with him about an office which he offered me,¹ as well as my intimate friendship with Bishop Webb, and my acquaintance with the family of Bishop Merriman, and the expressed wish of my dearest friend and counsellor, the late Bishop Wilberforce, all seem to point rather one way. I had better perhaps say no more now, as I hope so soon to see you.

The allusion in the last sentence is to an invitation from the Bishop of Edinburgh to meet him in London for a talk about South Africa. But meanwhile he took counsel, as was natural, with his own Diocesan, Dr. Mackarness, Bishop of Oxford, and also with his intimate friend Dr. Woodford, Bishop-Elect of Ely. The Bishop of Oxford wrote :

When you consulted me before, I felt that the appointment² which was proposed to you was one which presupposed some special qualifications, of which you did not consider yourself to be possessed ; nor had you been led to desire such a sphere of duty.

Capetown is a different matter. There is rough work, of course, in every Colonial Diocese ; but in the main the charge is like that of an English Diocese. The work so well begun by the great Bishop who has been taken from us, may be maintained by an earnest and devoted successor, free from many of the trials and

¹ The Bishopric of the Orange Free State.

² The Bishopric of Victoria, Hong-Kong.

difficulties by which he was vexed. I should not recommend any one to accept it who was not in accord with Bishop Gray as to the unhappy Natal business, and who would not adhere to his policy and teaching in respect to it. If you feel that you can embrace a life of toil and hard duty for the Gospel's sake, I counsel you to go. I can see no reason why God should not bless your endeavour to serve Him.

The advice of the Bishop-Elect of Ely was similar in its purport, and even more definitely in favour of acceptance :

Capetown is the only Colonial Diocese to which I would say to you "Go," and all things considered—(a) dear S. Winton's opinion of your fitness ; (b) the unsought manner in which it has come to you ; (c) your own interest in Church of England Missions ; (d) your freedom from family constraints—I am disposed in this case to say the word "Go." It is a great post, and ought to be well filled. It certainly ranks next to Calcutta in importance, in climate is preferable.

But these letters had scarcely arrived when a very different message came from the Bishop of Edinburgh :

I write a few lines at once to say that, from a letter which I have just received from the Archbishop, I judge that he is unwilling to accept our (Mr. Bullock's and my) nomination of you. I exceedingly regret having troubled you on the subject, and to a certain extent misled you, but I was misled myself. Mr. Bullock and I (I may tell you in confidence) had an interview with the Archbishop some weeks ago, in which, after much discussion, it was agreed that he should communicate with three persons on the subject. The first name was that of Canon How,¹ the second Archdeacon Earle,² and the third was your name. The two first having been found unable to accept, we supposed that, as a matter of course, the Archbishop would write to you. But now he mentions other persons, and evidently considers you to be too much identified in feeling with the line of conduct adopted by Bishop Gray (and by me also in co-operation with him) for him to assent to your nomination. I cannot understand it at all, because the first two whom we named are, in fact, quite as warmly attached to those principles which Bishop Gray maintained.

In the end, however, the Archbishop wrote on October 3 from Addington a very cordial autograph letter :

¹ William Walsham How, Bishop of Bedford, 1879 ; Bishop of Wakefield, 1888.

² Alfred Earle, Archdeacon of Totnes, 1872-88 ; Bishop of Marlborough, 1888-1900 ; Dean of Exeter, 1900.

MY DEAR SIR—You know that a delegation has been sent to the Bishop of Edinburgh, Mr. Bullock, and myself to choose a Bishop for Capetown and Metropolitan of South Africa. I have reason to believe that it will be a satisfaction to my two associates, as it will be to myself, if you can accept the office. I should be truly glad to see you here next Wednesday, to dine and stay the night, and if you could come about 5, we might talk this weighty matter over. May God guide you to a right decision.—Yours sincerely,

A. C. CANTUAR.

The Vicar's chief anxiety now was to ascertain, as he told the Bishop of Edinburgh, "whether the two parties at Capetown—I mean the pro- and anti-delegation sections of the Church—are likely to receive willingly one who, while appointed by your body, will follow mainly in the steps of the late noble Bishop." In reply the Bishop of Edinburgh assured him that an overwhelming majority both of the Clergy and of the Laity would be prepared to stand by any one who would carry out the policy of the late Bishop in a conciliatory spirit.

CHAPTER VI

The Problem of the Consecration Oath.

BUT a formidable and unexpected difficulty had now to be met. For under the Constitution and Canons of the Province of South Africa a Bishop of Capetown was then, as he is now, *ex-officio* Metropolitan of South Africa, and was even then, in all but name, an Archbishop. Being such, it seemed absolutely incongruous for him to take at his consecration a Suffragan's oath to the Archbishop of another Province. Secondly, by the same Canons it was also then, as it is now, expressly provided that every Bishop-Elect should before consecration make and subscribe a solemn declaration, in which he promised and bound himself to obey the laws of the Church of the Province of South Africa. Without such a declaration, indeed, as the Bishop of Edinburgh pointed out, he could have no ecclesiastical status, and no legal right to the property of the See, vested as it was in Trustees, themselves appointed under those laws. But how could one person rightfully bind himself by two such different obligations, which might, quite conceivably, interfere with each other? Thirdly, the Bishops of the Province of South Africa had in February 1873 passed a special and explicit Declaration,¹ that an Archbishop or Metropolitan ought not to take such an oath to another Archbishop or Metropolitan.

On the other hand, the Archbishop of Canterbury was advised by Sir Roundell Palmer that, under the rubric of the Ordinal, he could not legally consecrate without requiring the Oath of Canonical Obedience.

¹ Quoted on pp. 20, 21.

"The real state of the case, however," wrote the Bishop of Edinburgh, "is simply that, whilst the Service was drawn up for one state of the Law, it has not been altered to suit an altered state of the Law, which allows the Archbishop to consecrate Bishops, not for his own Province only, or within the limits of the Church of England only, but for the Colonies, and for Churches which are not established. The Law (it seems) prevents the Archbishop from altering the letter of the Service. The question, then, is whether the letter is capable of such an interpretation, as to be compatible with the status of the Colonial Bishop."

The Archbishop of Canterbury's own view was thus set forth in a letter to the Bishop of Edinburgh :

It cannot be desirable that the Bishop of Capetown, whom I fully recognize as a Metropolitan, should come under any obligation inconsistent with the performance of his duty in that capacity.

But he went on immediately to say :

No such difficulty has arisen, or is likely to arise, in the case of the other Metropolitans who take the Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The meaning of the oath I take to be, to use the words of the Act (Stat. 3 and 4, Gul. iv. c. 85), establishing the Bishop of Calcutta as Metropolitan, that the Bishop of Calcutta for the time being shall be taken to be Metropolitan of India, and as such shall have, etc., all such ecclesiastical jurisdiction, etc., as His Majesty shall by His Royal Letters Patent direct, subject nevertheless to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being.

The Bishop-Designate, when shown this letter, pointed out that Calcutta was "a Bishopric of a Church under wholly different circumstances, and on an entirely different status, from that of S. Africa" ; and that the words "subject nevertheless to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury" would admit the very thing which was inadmissible.

"I certainly feel convinced," he wrote eight days later, "that I cannot, and must not, take the oath uninterpreted and unqualified, whether as a matter of justice and truth, or of expediency. The oath would be a solemn mockery, or worse. For I could not intend by it to consent to even such control as was intended by its framers, still less to such 'general superintendence and revision' as the Archbishop seems to think of substituting for it. There would be no limit then to the interference which he might feel himself

justified, and which public opinion would justify him, in exercising over the affairs of the Province of S. Africa."

His objections were duly notified to the Archbishop, but at first no answer came. When at length he ascertained that the Archbishop was only waiting to hear direct from him himself, he wrote to the Archbishop on November 4 :

My only difficulty now is in the matter of the oath. It is to my mind so very solemn a thing, that I feel I must, before taking it, know exactly what I am binding myself to. I could never consent to take it in a vague sense, or with the idea of putting upon it a construction of my own, which I might think possible and expedient, but which Your Grace might consider inadmissible. I feel in such matters that it is essential, both in the cause of honesty and to avoid any possible complication in the future, that the *animus imponentis* and the *animus jurantis* should agree.

I understand from Bishop Cotterill that Your Grace is willing formally to accept from me and agree to some letter, as documentary evidence of the interpretation which I should put upon the oath, and which you are willing that I should put upon it.

May I then remind Your Grace of a conversation which I had with you at Addington, in which you acknowledged that, in this particular case, the oath could not be interpreted to mean that which, in the mind of its framers,¹ it did mean.

It seems to me, and I understood that it seemed to your Grace, that it cannot, in this case, involve strictly the relation of a Suffragan to his Metropolitan, but that it may very fairly be understood to acknowledge just such authority in the See of Canterbury, as is contemplated by the Constitution and Canons of the S. African Church, and to recognize that See as the Primatial See of the Anglican Communion.

If Your Grace is likely to consent to some such interpretation being put on the oath, I would draw up some carefully worded statement, which I would submit to you, with the request that you would acknowledge it, and affix your signature to it, as in your mind satisfactory.

I venture to ask this of Your Grace, because I have a very deep feeling of the solemnity of such an oath, because I am desirous of preventing any misinterpretation of my act, because I feel that the South African Church would demand it, and because it is so important to protect myself against the probability of being received by a large portion of the Church there with suspicion, or of not being received at all. . . .

¹ *I.e.* The compilers of the Ordinal attached to the Book of Common Prayer.

The Archbishop's reply was sympathetic :

"I can fully understand," he wrote, "the difficult position in which you are placed with regard to the oath prescribed by law to be taken to me, as Archbishop of Canterbury. I have, indeed, no knowledge of what you mean when you say that I agree with you in thinking that 'the oath could not be interpreted to mean that which, in the mind of its framers, it did mean,' though I think with you that it cannot involve strictly the relation of a Suffragan to his Metropolitan."

The rest of the letter is simply a repetition in identical terms of that illustration drawn from the Indian Bishoprics Act, and from the case of the Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta's oath, which the Archbishop had already used in his letter to the Bishop of Edinburgh.

The Bishop-Designate replied on December 1 :

I beg to thank your Grace for your letter of the 28th ultimo, and for the sympathy which you express for me in the difficult position in which I am placed. With reference to our conversation at Addington, to which I alluded in my last letter, I merely meant that I understood Your Grace to allow, what your last letter does allow, that the oath cannot involve strictly the relation of a Suffragan to a Metropolitan, which relation is, so far as I understand it, exactly that which was meant by the framers of the rubric.^a

As regards the words used in the Act constituting the Indian Bishoprics, I am sure Your Grace will give me liberty to point out what seem to me to be most important distinctions between the Church in India and that in South Africa. The Bishop of Calcutta and the other Indian Bishops were consecrated under Letters Patent ; they are Bishops of a Church which is to all intents and purposes established. India is no Colony, but a part of the Empire : and the Church there has, I believe, no independent Synodical action, and is certainly governed by the laws of the established Church of England. Thus the position of the Indian Church is, in these points, the very reverse of that in South Africa. That Church is altogether disestablished ; the Law has declared it to be an independent religious community ; no Letters-Patent are issued for the Consecration of its Bishops ; and it has a Constitution and Canons of its own.

But independently of these considerations, and even supposing that I felt no objection to the words Your Grace quotes ("general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being"), I must point out to Your Grace the practical difficulties which lie in the way of such an interpretation being put upon the oath. In the first place I should by this means forfeit

entirely the support of, and probably insure my rejection by, a very large section of Church people in S. Africa, who would, I feel confident, under no circumstances consent to such an interpretation. Then, I should lose the sympathy and support of a very influential number of persons in England, who have had the interests of the South African Church at heart under its recent troubles. And beyond this, I should rouse the apprehensions of the Bishops there, who would probably refuse to confirm the appointment of a Bishop who should consent to such an interpretation of the oath.

Under these circumstances, I hope Your Grace will seriously consider whether any words to this effect should be inserted in the statement, which is to establish an understanding as to the sense of the oath, in the Consecration of a Bishop or Metropolitan of the South African Church. If I hear from your Grace that you do not press the adoption of such an expression, I will hasten to draw up and forward a form, which I hope your Grace will be pleased to accept as satisfactory.

From the Archbishop on December 3 came a most friendly reply. Dropping all allusion to Calcutta and to the provisions of the Indian Bishoprics Act, he merely said :

I shall be happy to receive any statement, which you may wish to send, explaining the sense in which you are prepared to take the oath to me as Archbishop of Canterbury. You may be sure that I will give it my most careful consideration.

With this statement,¹ when sent, the Archbishop expressed his thorough agreement :

"I see no objection," he wrote, "to such an explanation as you have proposed, and am quite willing to administer the oath with the knowledge that you so interpret it. It is, of course, to be understood that in thus writing I express no opinion respecting questions which may be raised at the Cape as to the binding nature of 'the Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa,' to which you have alluded."

So ended the second phase of the correspondence. Only in the week before Christmas had this happy agreement been reached. On Christmas Eve Dr. Liddon wrote a jubilant letter sketching his hopes for the future in words which now seem almost prophetic, so amply have they been fulfilled in

¹ This statement appears *in extenso*, in the document as signed by the Bishop-Elect on the morning of his consecration, and was recognized and accepted by the Archbishop and the other consecrating Bishops in the accompanying document signed by them at the same time. See pp. 38, 39, where both documents are given in full.

the successful work which his friend was, by God's grace, enabled to do, in spite of health at times very far from strong :

"I am thankful to hear," he said, "that the difficulty is settled, and so satisfactorily. It is due to the Archbishop to admit that he has shown in this instance a very real anxiety to promote the well-being of the Church of Christ. . . . Certainly your career will be followed with the deepest interest—and all that that implies—by many like myself in England ; and I pray that God may enable you to build up His Church on the lines traced by your distinguished predecessor. If it is not very impertinent in me to say so—I have *no doubt* on this score ; and shall reserve my real anxieties for your health and strength. These however, like all else, are in God's hands."¹

Other Christmas letters came pouring in, all written in the same strain of hopefulness and satisfaction.

But what this long and harassing correspondence had laboriously gained, was for a time swept away by an unhappy error of judgement on the part of Dr. Badnall, the Arch-deacon of the Cape.

Alarmed at the idea of an oath of any kind, under whatsoever safeguards, he took upon himself to summon the clergy in or near Capetown itself, to confer with him on December 15 about the oath. His influence carried the rest with him, and he reported them to be unanimous, indeed, in their readiness to welcome the Bishop-Designate, but equally unanimous in opposing any oath, "even with such qualifying explanation as has been proposed." It made matters worse that he held a second conference on January 23, collected further opinions, discussed the situation in a letter in the *Cape Argus* of January 31, and, last of all, secured what claimed to be, though it really was not, an adjourned meeting of the Elective Assembly on February 6.

¹ With this letter may be compared a sentence from another, which Dr. Liddon wrote to Dr. Bright less than three months later. This, too, contains a prophecy which has been fulfilled with singular completeness. "As to the Constitution and Canons of the Church of S. A., they may not yet have the age or effective force which commands respect in purely official minds like —'s. Jones, unless I mistake, will complete them, and secure for them what they yet lack, if he lives."

So, indeed, he was destined to do. In South Africa the Provincial Synod is the Legislature, or Parliament, of the Church, and frames laws for it in the form of Canons. Once only had the Provincial Synod met before Dr. West Jones became Metropolitan. During his Episcopate it assembled no less than five times at intervals of about seven years. At all these Synods he presided with singular ability ; and the guiding influence of his wise and judicial mind in working out the many difficult problems involved, was indisputable.

It would be wearisome to go into all the difficulties and details of the situation, and the additional, and even more voluminous, correspondence of three or four months' duration in which the Bishop-Designate was now involved. It is sufficient to say that the Archdeacon, though he acted with the very best and most disinterested intentions, ought to have left the question of the qualified oath in the hands of the Bishops of the Province, with whom it was absolutely safe, who had been already consulted, and whose answer was expected in due course, and who alone, according to the Constitution and Canons of the Province, could rightly deal with the matter, seeing that the Elective Assembly had done the work for which it had been summoned, and had been dissolved.

Meanwhile the Bishop-Designate was placed in a most embarrassing position. In the teeth of the opposition of a large majority of the clergy of his future Diocese, how could he take even a qualified oath, and even an oath sanctioned, if they should sanction it, by the Bishops of the Province themselves?

The Archbishop of Canterbury, when informed of this new development, said that the Bishop-Designate must now choose for himself his own line of action. Dr. Liddon advised reference to the South African Church for a definite Synodical decision, whether the oath should be taken or not, and hoped that, under the circumstances, the South African Church might demand a Consecration in South Africa. Dr. Bright thought any oath so inexpedient, that a Consecration in South Africa was desirable. The Bishop of Edinburgh was personally against a Consecration in South Africa, but quite expected that the South African Church would decide for it. The Bishop-Designate described his own view to Badnall on January 21, in these words:

From what I can hear, I feel most strongly that to be consecrated in the Colony would be a very unwise step, and would lead to a very serious and violent schism among members of the Church there. If I am consecrated in England, the law (so the Archbishop is advised) requires the oath to be administered: but it seems that to take it, even under this distinct limitation, would alienate from

me the hearts of those in the Diocese, to whom I should naturally look for cordial and loyal support and sympathy.

Failing the assurance of such support, he declared that he must withdraw his acceptance. This, indeed, about three weeks later, he had definitely decided to do.

"I am now," he said on February 13, "requesting the delegation to relieve me from this long and anxious suspense, and when the answer to the Archbishop's communication has been received, to consider the appointment *de novo*, without feeling themselves under any obligation to offer it to me. My present suspense and anxiety are utterly unfitting me for the regular work of my parish, besides stopping much parochial machinery."

"The Archbishop's communication," to which reference is here made, was written by the Archbishop of Canterbury on February 5 to the Dean of Capetown, President of the Elective Assembly, in order to bring matters to a conclusion. In it the Archbishop expressly nominated the Vicar of Summertown to the Bishopric, and at the same time asked for a Synodical Resolution approving or disapproving the proposed oath.

On February 6, the day after the dispatch of the Archbishop's letter, the meeting of what professed to be the adjourned Elective Assembly took place in Capetown. But its proceedings, when the news reached England, were declared by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as by the Bishop of Edinburgh and others, to be obviously null and void. The Bishop of St. Helena, who was Acting Metropolitan, took the same view, and promptly wrote to that effect to the Dean of Capetown, and an adjourned meeting (fixed originally for May 6, and then transferred to April 16) was cancelled altogether.

By March 10 answers had been received from a majority of the Bishops of the Province, including the Acting Metropolitan, all approving of the oath, as qualified and interpreted by the statement accepted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all definitely confirming the election. The Archbishop of Canterbury then wrote that he thought the Consecration "might be fixed for some day soon after Easter, and would best take place in Lambeth Chapel."

He was evidently quite confident that he would receive a satisfactory reply to his own letter of February 5 to the Dean of Capetown. The event justified his expectations. The reply which reached him on April 23 expressed the willingness of the Diocese of Capetown that the Resolution of the Elective Assembly on May 7, 1873, should be acted upon, and the Bishop-Elect consecrated in England and by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thus the Diocese tacitly withdrew all opposition to the qualified oath, and no obstacle was left to hinder the Consecration. Everything henceforth went forward smoothly and happily. The Queen's Licence to the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate in England was issued on April 30. The Consecration itself was fixed for May 17, the Sunday after the Ascension, and, by a wise departure from the Archbishop of Canterbury's original proposal, it was now to be in Westminster Abbey.¹

Correspondence, indeed, continued between the Bishop-Elect and the Archbishop till within three or four days of the Consecration, but only upon details in the wording of those important declarations which they were respectively to make concerning the proper interpretation of the oath.

¹ It is interesting to notice that on April 18 the body of David Livingstone, the great African explorer, and the friend of the first Bishop of Capetown, had been buried in the Abbey.

CHAPTER VII

Degree of Doctor of Divinity and Consecration in Westminster Abbey—
The Documents explaining the Oath.

BEFORE his Consecration the Bishop-Elect received from the University of Oxford the degree of Doctor of Divinity *honoris causâ*. The felicitous Latin speech of the Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. J. B. Mozley, upon this occasion was as follows :

Insignissime Vice Cancellarie, vosque egregii Procuratores : Presento vobis virum egregium Gulielmum West Jones, A.M., Collegii D. Joannis Baptistae socium, Episcopum de Capetown et Africae Meridionalis Metropolitanum designatum. Quem ut vobis commendam, tam bene notum omnibus, tam spectatae et laboriosae vitae, tamque dilectum, vix longa oratione opus est. Sed amico valedicere, sed proficiscentem ad arduum et longinquum munus, summo studio et favore prosequi vobis, credo, et toti huic coetui opportunum videbitur.

Paene ultima voce illius, quem adhuc dolemus, Episcopi Wintonensis, τοῦ μακαρίτου, ad hanc curam vocatus est. Quam vocem, ut patris amantissimi, secutus, ipse modo non invitus, suffragia cleri Africani meruit. Ibit unanimo vestro consensu, dignus qui desiderium tantae Ecclesiae expleat, qui sedem magni et deflendi Praesulis assumat, qui clerum diligat, plebem doceat ; qui errantes retrahat, imbecillos confirmet, infideles convertat.

Qua enim humanitate ingenii, quo candore morum, quo vigore animi apud nos tamdiu insignitus est, iisdem virtutibus et facultatibus non sibi sed Domino nostro episcoporum Episcopo, Iesu Christo, gloriam abunde quaeret et consequetur.

Hunc ergo presento, ut admittatur ad gradum Doctoris in Sacra Theologia honoris causa.

His parishioners at Summertown showed their deep affection for the Bishop-Elect by many parting presents, including a set of Episcopal robes and the gown of a

Doctor of Divinity ; and his Assistant Curates and the choir gave him a gold Episcopal ring. There was also a presentation to Miss J. A. Jones, his sister, who had endeared herself to all by "the cordial geniality which she shared with her brother," and who was now about to devote herself with equal singleness of heart to aid him in South Africa.

On May 17, the Sunday after Ascension Day, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tait), and the other consecrating Bishops, London (Jackson), Winchester (Harold Browne), Oxford (Mackarness), Ely (Woodford), Edinburgh (Cotterill), Goulburn (Thomas), and Dr. Piers Claughton, at that time Archdeacon of London, formerly Bishop of St. Helena, 1859-62, and of Colombo, 1862-71, assembled at Westminster Abbey in the Jerusalem Chamber, where the documents, which had caused such prolonged and anxious correspondence, were signed previous to the Consecration Service ; the Bishop-Elect signing his own declaration as to the meaning of the oath, and the Archbishop signing a statement that he administered the oath with the knowledge that it was taken in this sense. To this latter statement all the Bishops above mentioned appended their signatures, except the Bishop of Goulburn.¹ In the Service which followed, the Archbishop of Canterbury was the celebrant ; but, as he was unwell, a considerable part of the Service was taken for him by the Dean. The Bishop of Winchester read the Epistle ; the Bishop of London the Gospel ; and the Rev. R. S. Copleston, M.A.,² Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and a great personal friend of the Bishop-Elect, preached the sermon from Joshua i. 5-7, in the alternative First Lesson for Evensong—God's promise, "As I was with Moses, so will I be with thee," coupled with the exhortation, "Be strong and very courageous."

"It is seldom," said the preacher, "that we can see a work so great, of which it has been so nearly true to call one man the Founder, as was the planting of the Church in South Africa, a work

¹ The reason for this exception is given on p. 185.

² He was at this time only in Deacons' Orders. At the end of the next year, on the Innocents' Day, December 28, 1875, two days only after his thirtieth birthday, he was consecrated Bishop of Colombo. In 1902 he became Bishop of Calcutta, and Metropolitan of India. He resigned in January 1913, after an Episcopate in Ceylon and India of no less than thirty-seven years.

so rapid and so gigantic, that the whole Communion of the Church of England may look on it as a grand proof of the presence of the Lord, and hear Him saying in it, 'As I was with you in all that work, so I will be with you in the tasks that are coming. I will never fail you nor forsake you. Only be strong and very courageous.'"

And again, speaking of the seven Dioceses, of which Capetown was the spiritual metropolis, he said :

With the energy of a colonist, the South African Church has mapped out its own domain, and built its own house with its own hands, and has applied, with fresh freedom in that liberal air, all the tried machinery of the Mother Church, and ventured with success on new experiments. These results have been due, in a very great degree, to the wisdom and foresight, and zeal, founded on faith and love, of the first Bishop of Capetown. It is due to his wisdom that the young Church is furnished with the powers of freedom and self-government ; and without losing her true links of attachment to the Church at home, can grow her own growth, and live her own life, and work out the lesson which will be her contribution to the experience of the Universal Church ; so that the new Bishop goes out recognizing here to-day, on the part of the Church of South Africa, the deep debt of loyal gratitude and homage due to England as her mother and her nurse. She is not strong enough, even yet, to do without England, but she is full of a force of growth which demands freedom from all laws which she does not consciously accept.

In a brilliant passage addressed to the Bishop-Elect he said :

Before you and your brother Bishops there lies a mighty region with its difficulties of distance and dangers of climate,—a mighty realm of heathendom thinly sprinkled here and there with the outposts of the Cross, and streamed over, and in parts deluged by, our eager colonists ; a moving, a rash, often a sinful, population. It will be yours to watch over all these. To you and to your brethren, overtaken already, the cry is ever coming from the burning levels, and the great river highways, from the innumerable races of the inland hills, from the enormous plains of the Transvaal, and the deadly valleys of the Amatonga, "Come over, and help us !" And the desperate "Who is sufficient for these things ?" will often be rising to your lips. But you will think of the old promise, "I will never fail thee, nor forsake thee," and will be strong again, and of a good courage. For this courage does not rest on buoyancy of spirits. It may be strongest in fainting hearts, if they rest on God. There comes a time when human energy, even the greatest, is worn out,

and the most sanguine hopes are daunted. But "When I am weak," says the Christian, "then am I strong." "Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall; but they that wait on the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint."

The Bishops of Oxford and Edinburgh presented the Bishop-Elect, and, together with the other Bishops already mentioned, joined with the Archbishop in the act of Consecration. A very large number of persons communicated or were present in the Abbey; among them many Cape Colonists and friends of the late Bishop, Robert Gray, many parishioners also and friends of the Bishop-Elect from Summertown and Oxford. The Bishop's own comments in his diary run as follows :

The Lord in His mercy help and strengthen me to bear wisely and bravely the heavy burden of responsibility laid on me, and to discharge faithfully so high and solemn an office !

And again :

A very important day in my life, not only to myself but to the whole Church in South Africa. God grant that it may be full of good, not of evil ! But, indeed, "Who is sufficient ?"

DOCUMENTS signed before the Consecration Service on May 17, 1874, and explanatory of the special sense of the Oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury about to be taken by the Rev. W. W. Jones, D.D., on his Consecration as Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of the Province of South Africa.

I

I, William West Jones, Clerk in Holy Orders, selected to be consecrated Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of the Province of South Africa, do hereby declare that in taking the Oath of due Obedience to the Most Reverend Archibald Campbell, by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, in the "Form of ordaining or consecrating of a Bishop," I take the same in the sense which I have expressed to the said Archbishop in a written document submitted by me to His Grace on the sixth day of December One thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, and of which the following is a true copy :

“By the Oath to be taken in the Consecration Service, I intend to profess that the Archbishop of Canterbury holds the first place in honour among all the Prelates of the Anglican Communion, such as was acknowledged by the Bishops assembled at the Lambeth Conference in 1867. But inasmuch as the See of Capetown is acknowledged to possess Metropolitan Authority in the Province of South Africa, and inasmuch as it is necessary for me before Consecration to declare my consent and adhesion to the Constitution and Canons of the Church of South Africa, I am not at liberty to recognize in the Archbishop of Canterbury any other jurisdiction over the said Metropolitan See of Capetown than that which is already, or shall be hereafter, provided for or implied in the Laws or Constitution and Canons of the South African Church.”

Witnesses—Harry Wilmot Lee,
2 Broad Sanctuary,
Westminster.
F. H. Dyke,
Registrar.

W. W. JONES.

May 17th, 1874.

II

I, Archibald Campbell, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, do hereby state to you, William West Jones, Clerk in Holy Orders, selected to be consecrated Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of the Province of South Africa, that I understand you in taking the “Oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop” prescribed in the “Form of ordaining or consecrating of a Bishop” not to recognize in the Archbishop of Canterbury any jurisdiction, power and authority over the See of Capetown inconsistent with the full Metropolitan rights of the said See: And I am quite willing that you should take the Oath in the sense which you have expressed to me in the written document submitted to me on the 6th of December 1873, and formally signed by you on the day of your Consecration.

Witnesses—Harry Wilmot Lee,
2 Broad Sanctuary,
Westminster.
F. H. Dyke,
Registrar.

A. C. CANTUAR.
J. LONDON.
E. H. WINTON.
J. F. OXON.
J. R. ELY.
H. COTTERILL,
Bishop of Edinburgh.
PIERS CLAUGHTON,
Bishop.

May 17th, 1874.

PART II.—CHAPTERS VIII.—XXIV.

1874—1882

THE FIRST EIGHT YEARS IN SOUTH AFRICA

“I shall pray God to make your Episcopate, as I entirely believe it will be, a blessing to your flock, and to the whole English Church.”—
H. P. Liddon to the Bishop-Elect, May 15, 1874.

κατὰ τὰς προαγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας.—1 Tim. i. 18.

CHAPTER VIII

Farewells in England—Voyage to the Cape—Arrival at Capetown,
August 31, 1874—First sight of Bishopscourt.

THE day after his Consecration the Bishop went to Oxford, and, by the invitation of the President, there was a large gathering in St. John's College Hall to meet him. In the evening he returned to London, and dined with the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. Then followed ten days in the Lake country with his brother, Mr. Frank Jones; visits to Peterborough, Wellingborough, Salisbury, and the Merchant Taylors' School; then, after a few days' holiday in Wales, a first Confirmation at Summertown, where he had the happiness of confirming seventy-two candidates, the first to kneel before him to receive the laying on of hands being William Jackson, his own nephew and godson. After a visit to Warminster, he returned to London. On July 12 he preached in Westminster Abbey, and on August 2, his last Sunday in England, in St. Paul's Cathedral. On Monday, August 3, a farewell service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral. Dr. G. A. Selwyn, Bishop of Lichfield, and formerly of New Zealand, was the preacher, and Dr. Piers Claughton, formerly Bishop of St. Helena, the celebrant. The Bishop of Ely, Dr. Woodford, and the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. T. L. Claughton, were also present. On Wednesday, August 5, the Bishop of Capetown, with Miss J. A. Jones, his eldest sister, the Rev. C. H. Joberns, his Chaplain, and the Rev. L. L. Sharpe, sailed for the Cape.

During the voyage the Bishop and his companions were able to have a daily Service, with some of their fellow-passengers, in a part of the saloon screened off for that purpose, and a celebration of the Holy Communion every

Sunday, except when the sea was too rough. In other respects, however, the twenty-six days on board ship were monotonous and uneventful. Even the glorious panorama usually displaying itself at the end of the voyage was on this occasion almost wholly obscured.

For the view on nearing Capetown is one of the most magnificent in the world. As an incoming vessel steams slowly past Robben Island into Table Bay, the huge crescent formed by Table Mountain and its adjacent peaks gradually opens out in all its majestic grandeur. In the centre, immediately behind the city, appears the long level top of the great mountain, the massive Table rock itself. Outlined against the sky for a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, and at a height of 3550 feet above the sea, it resembles a gigantic wall of ancient grey stone piled upon a vast earthen rampart. Guarding the right side like a bastion tower, stands the picturesque Lion's Head, a splendid crag, taking the shape of a lion couchant, and isolated from the Table rock by a wide and deep kloof or ravine, a gap rent right through the rocky wall and continued far down into the solid rampart below by some mighty convulsion of Nature, and by the subsequent wear and tear of time. From the base of this crag a lower ridge, called Signal Hill, prolongs the rampart, and sweeping in a semicircular curve seawards, finally reaches the waters of the bay. On the left rises another lofty mountain bastion, commonly known as the Devil's Peak, but more correctly the Dove's Peak, and the steep green slopes that descend from it all but touch the white sandy shore between Woodstock and Salt River.¹ Shut in thus between the horns of this mountain crescent and the Atlantic, Capetown faces seawards and almost due

¹ This shore of Table Bay was the scene of one of the most gallant actions ever done either in South Africa or elsewhere. In a great storm on June 1, 1773, the *Jonge Thomas*, one of five Dutch East Indiamen in the harbour, drove aground and became a total wreck. No effort was being made to save life, and those on land were busy only in appropriating the spoil cast up by the furious sea. Then an old man with a flowing white beard rode up, a dairyman by occupation, named Wolraad Woltemaade. Indignant at the callousness he saw, he urged his horse through the breakers to the ship's side, and brought two men ashore holding to his horse's tail. Seven times he successfully accomplished this feat, rescuing fourteen men. At the eighth attempt both horse and rider were overwhelmed by a huge wave and drowned. Out of 205 on board only 53 others were saved. The Directors of the Dutch East India Company gave orders that the next ship built should be called the *Held* ("hero") *Woltemaade*, and should have a picture of his exploit painted on the stern. Strangely enough there is still no permanent memorial to this brave South African.

| | | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|------------|--------------|
| Table Bay. | Rondebosch (behind the Mountain). | Devil's (properly Dove's) Peak. | Bishopscourt (behind the Mountain), Table Mountain. | The Kloof. | Lion's Head. |
|------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|------------|--------------|



+ Cathedral.

CAPETOWN AND TABLE MOUNTAIN FROM SIGNAL HILL (800 FT.).

north, filling all the space along the narrow shore with its white houses, unrivalled in the beauty of its position, and famous for its old historic memories as the mother-city of the whole of South Africa.

But the Bishop saw little indeed of this grand scenery, which afterwards he was to know so well. On Monday morning, August 31, the wind was high, and the ship was rolling heavily. From about noon so dense a fog enveloped the coast, and so strong a current set in landwards, that the captain, to avoid the risk of running upon Dassen Island, kept well out to sea. About half-past one, however, land was sighted close to Green Point; and, steaming along parallel to the shore, the vessel made her way into the harbour, where the sound of her guns through the fog first notified to the large body of clergy and laity waiting on the quay that their new Bishop and Metropolitan had arrived at last.

On his landing they gave him an enthusiastic welcome, and he found the Governor's carriage waiting to take him and his sister to Government House. The Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, had also written to say that he hoped they would be his and Lady Barkly's guests for some days. Later in the afternoon the Bishop went to the Cathedral, where a Thanksgiving Service was held, concluding with a *Te Deum*.

Next day, Tuesday, September 1, being the second anniversary of the death of Robert Gray, the first Bishop of Capetown, the new Bishop was at the Cathedral for Matins, followed at eight o'clock by celebration of Holy Communion. In the afternoon Lady Barkly took him over to see Bishopscourt. "A dull day, but the place delightful notwithstanding," is the comment in his diary on this first sight of the spot which was to be his home for the next four-and-thirty years.

CHAPTER IX

The Bishop amongst his people—St. George's Orphanage—Miss Fair's Community—Interviews with Dr. Colenso and others—Reply to letter from Natal—First sermon in the Cathedral—Diocesan College—Public Reception in Capetown—Rondebosch Parish—Robben Island—St. Saviour's, Claremont, and the Memorial to the first Bishop.

As they began to make his acquaintance, the clergy and people of his Diocese found no cause for disappointment in their long-expected Bishop and Metropolitan. He was in the very prime of life, and of a strong but slight build; alert and active in his movements, yet stately in his bearing, and very tall—taller even than those other Bishops of the Province whom they knew already, and who were all men of stature. He had dark wavy brown hair, a thoughtful forehead, and a round, almost boyish, face with a peculiarly clear and fair complexion. His keen, observant, blue-grey eyes could twinkle merrily enough at times, and, as he spoke, his grave and serious mouth would often relax into an expression of charming playfulness and humour, or, when the occasion demanded it, into a most sympathetic tenderness. His fine voice was sonorous and musical in tone, and his quick, elastic step had an easy, and perfectly natural, dignity. About such a man there was everything lovable and attractive, and nothing in the least stiff or formal. In every house he visited he proved himself a delightful guest, full of life, and quick to interest himself in all the relationships and pursuits of the family. In him children discovered a whole-hearted friend, and he loved to gather them round him, and to play and romp with them, entering as thoroughly into their amusements as if he had not "the care of all the churches" of the Province resting upon his shoulders. His memory

for faces was astonishing, and often, even after the lapse of many years, on meeting such former playmates grown up, and far away from their own relatives in quite another part of the country, he would recognize them at first sight.

And the qualities which he possessed in those early days remained with him to the very end of his life, as those who knew him only in later years can testify. A boyish humour and playfulness, a "youthfulness of mind," a bright and winning demeanour—these characteristics were not lost, but became only the more noticeable, when the troubles of a long and laborious Episcopate, much ill-health, many anxieties, and the advance of age had slightly bent those tall shoulders, added a pathetic interest to his keen face, and had so changed the colour of his hair that, when it caught the light, it shone like burnished silver.

His first visit in Capetown, on Wednesday September 2, was to St. George's Orphanage in Harrington Street. Founded by Miss Mary Arthur¹ in 1862, this Orphanage, which had then just passed its twelfth, has now completed its fiftieth year. At that time it contained thirty-nine orphans, and in the day-school annexed there was an attendance of about 170 of the very poorest children in the town.

He also inspected the different houses in Keerom Street belonging to the Community of Ladies under Miss Fair, and was much pleased by the evidence of the loving care bestowed on those under their charge, alike in the Refuge for Penitents and in the Home for Destitute Children, the waifs and strays of Capetown, where he noticed "a very touching sight, a black child of about nine most tenderly nursing a little white infant of a year and a half."

This day the Metropolitan received letters of very cordial greeting from the Bishops of Grahamstown, Maritzburg, and Bloemfontein, and also an intimation from a business man in Capetown that Dr. Colenso was in the city, and was anxious to know whether he might call upon him. As

¹ Miss Arthur died on December 19, 1891, after several years of very indifferent health. She deserves to be had in grateful remembrance for the completeness of her scheme for the Orphanage, for the foresight with which she provided for its future development and enlargement, and for her own personal liberality towards it.

he found that Dr. Colenso simply wished to pay his respects, and not to raise any controversial questions,¹ he said he should be most happy to meet him, and next day they had a short interview. Dr. Colenso said that he believed his supporters in Natal, anxious for a reunion with the Churchmen of the Province, were about to address a memorial to the Bishop of Capetown to that effect, but that he himself supposed there would be great difficulties in the way of such a reunion ; and the Metropolitan acknowledged that these difficulties were indeed so great that he himself hardly saw how they could be surmounted. As a matter of fact, no pacific memorial ever came. In its place the Metropolitan received from Natal some weeks later a letter objecting both to the explanation attached to the oath at his Consecration, and also to several points in the Canons of the Church of the Province, and putting a number of questions as to his relation to the signatories and to other "members of the Church of England in South Africa." With the assistance of the Archdeacon of the Cape, Dr. Badnall, and also of the Ven. H. Master White, Archdeacon of Grahamstown, and of the Rev. John Espin, Canon of Grahamstown Cathedral, both of whom happened to be in Capetown at the time, he drew up and sent a carefully-worded reply. So ended this particular incident ; but throughout his whole Episcopate he had still to deal with the trouble caused, first by Dr. Colenso's own personal presence and activity in Natal, and then, after Colenso's death, by the schismatical position so long maintained by his followers.

Amongst those who called on the Metropolitan during his first week at the Cape was the Rev. Dr. Robertson, principal Dutch Minister in Capetown, and Scriba of the Dutch Reformed Church Synod, who in 1870 had corresponded with the first Bishop of Capetown about the possibility of

¹ In a letter, then just appearing in the Cape papers, Dr. Colenso had already announced to the Churchwardens of St. Peter's, Maritzburg, that he was on his way to England, to consult with the Archbishop of Canterbury and others upon the relation in which he and his adherents would now stand towards the new Bishop of Capetown.

Two years earlier, shortly after the death of the first Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown, Dr. Colenso had written (October 10, 1872) a long letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury upon the situation. He had claimed in that letter to be Senior Bishop in S. Africa, and had actually suggested that, should the Metropolitan status of the future Bishop of Capetown, whoever he might be, fail to obtain recognition owing to the disuse of Letters-Patent, he himself, if requested, would be willing to assume the office of Metropolitan !

union with the English Church.¹ The Metropolitan thus sums up the impression left by his conversation with him :

He seems specially anxious for a hearty and cordial feeling of friendship and love between us, while he considers an absolute union of organizations perfectly hopeless. We could not give up Episcopacy: they could not submit to seek Episcopal Ordination. Still there may be much union in heart, and spirit, and aim, though not in outward form. He was very pleasant, and I enjoyed a half-hour's conversation with him.

On Saturday the Metropolitan writes :

Mr. Tennant² paid me a long visit, and we had a good talk over Church matters. Unhappily, owing to his election as Speaker of the House of Assembly, he feels obliged to resign his post as Registrar of the Diocese; but he promises all the private help and advice he can render. He has been throughout a valuable friend and supporter of the Church in this Diocese and Province.

A few days later he attributes mainly to the good offices of Mr. Tennant the concord and harmony of a joint meeting of Diocesan and Provincial Trustees, and their cordial and unanimous expression of gratitude to Dr. Badnall, Archdeacon of the Cape, for his excellent administration of the Diocese as Vicar-General.

On Sunday, September 6, he was celebrant at the early Eucharist in the Cathedral, and preached at a later Service. The *Net*, for November, charmingly portrays him, as he appeared on this his first Sunday in Capetown, and gives a capital summary of what he said.

He looked a man to be respected and feared, as he ended the long procession of Choir and Clergy. And then, what a sermon we had! "Brethren, pray for us," were the few words of his text. His manner is earnest, impressive, and simple. He began by a short allusion to the work done by his "dear predecessor"—a work not to be allowed to perish, but to be carried on further and further. He said that this was not the time to speak of the plans he meant to adopt—that he meant to say only a few words to us now, and these chiefly on the words of the text. He spoke of the responsibilities

¹ The Rev. Dr. Faure, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, who had been associated with Dr. Robertson in the same correspondence, also called at a later date, and was equally friendly.

² Afterwards Sir David Tennant. Mr. David Tennant, his son, is now Registrar of the Diocese of Capetown, and of the Province of South Africa, as his father was before him.

and cares of a parish Priest. He showed how these became multiplied in the case of a Bishop, and alluded to some circumstances which rendered the Bishopric, to which God had in His Providence called him, a charge of more than ordinary difficulty ; so that one might well be led to say with the Apostle, "And who is sufficient for these things?" He next spoke of the words addressed to himself at his Consecration, "Be strong and very courageous." Then, after showing how God can, and does generally, work through the feeblest means, he passed on to *our* duty towards God. Enlarging greatly on the benefits of intercessory prayer, he ended with enthusiasm, "O, who can tell what will be the blessed answer to the prayers you offer up before you leave this House to-day? How much strength you may gain for me! Pray for me, in the words of the Consecration office, that I may be to the flock of Christ a shepherd; holding up the weak, healing the sick, binding up the broken, bringing again the outcasts, seeking the lost."

On Tuesday, at a public luncheon in his honour, Dr. Dale (afterwards Sir Langham Dale) took the chair. The Governor and Lady Barkly were present, and there were about three hundred guests. An address of welcome was read by Colonel J. T. Eustace, and then handed to him. He read his reply; and Dr. Dale proposed his health in a speech which was enthusiastically received, and to which, as he says, "I made the best reply I could." He was, indeed, well aware of the danger of being too much elated by the unanimity of his reception, or of being misled by indiscriminate praise. On the evening of this day he wrote:

The Cape papers are rather more complimentary to me than I much care for. It cannot last. And the reaction is sure to be all the greater, when it comes, for the amount of flattery which they are pleased now to bestow. I trust I may never be tempted to abandon my principles out of deference to popular favour.

Some hours of the afternoon of September 12 he spent with Canon Ogilvie, Principal of the Diocesan College at Rondebosch, and went over the College itself, which had been founded in 1849 by the first Bishop of Capetown.¹ One, who was then a boy at the Diocesan College, well remembers seeing him for the first time, and says, "He made a lasting

¹ The Rev. Henry Master White, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford, was the first Principal. "With that noble self-sacrifice, which was the special mark of the man, he gave up his brilliant prospects at Oxford to come out to South Africa." He was afterwards Archdeacon of Grahamstown from 1871 till his death on October 4, 1892.

impression on all of us, by the height of his stature and easy dignity of his gait, as he strolled about the ground with our revered chief, and, needless to say, we got the coveted half-holiday on account of this auspicious occasion." The same correspondent relates how he came again on December 15 to the College "break-up," and presented the prizes; how a great many of these were carried off by the head boy, Malcolm Searle, now Mr. Justice Searle, and how, after warmly congratulating him and the other prize-winners, he took occasion "in his usual kind and genial way" to console the unsuccessful by the motto "*nil desperandum*"; there would be plenty of chances of distinction in the future by good work either at College itself or in the larger world outside.

On September 15, he and his sister left Government House, and went to stay for some days at Erinville, Rondebosch, the house of Mr. W. G. Anderson,¹ the head of one of the principal mercantile firms in Capetown. "Here," he wrote, "though Mr. Anderson is himself absent in England, we were most hospitably welcomed, and made to feel at home at once. It is a large family of thoroughly devoted Church people. The Archdeacon and Mrs. Badnall and Canon Ogilvie dined with us."

On Sunday, September 20, he celebrated in Rondebosch Parish Church, and preached two sermons, using the opportunity to urge the Rondebosch people to clear off the debt of £1000 which hindered the consecration of the nave of their church. On Monday, St. Matthew's Day, he attended Matins, followed by a Celebration in "a little Mission Chapel, built by Archdeacon Thomas in a lovely spot among the trees on the Camp Ground." In the afternoon he drove to Capetown and held his first confirmation in the Cathedral, where 150 candidates were confirmed in the presence of an overflowing congregation, hundreds of persons being unable to gain admission.

The following Thursday he visited Robben Island, and confirmed eighteen, amongst whom were two grand-daughters

¹ Mr. Anderson died in August 1893 at an advanced age. He was a fine example of a Christian gentleman, hospitable, generous, religious-minded. He was universally respected in Capetown for his transparent honour and absolute straightforwardness in all business transactions.

of the Commissioner, himself a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. In the leper wards he was much shocked by the wretchedness of the buildings, and by the distressing condition of some of the worst cases. The Rev. C. H. Joberns, his chaplain at that time, says :

One of the most curious spots in the Diocese, to my mind, was a sandy patch in the ocean, seven miles west of Capetown, called Robben Island, inhabited solely by lepers, lunatics, and convicts, together with those who kept watch and ward over them, or ministered to their necessities. The only means of communication between the mainland and this desolate island was a Government tug. Possessed of a Government permit to land, the visitor stowed himself away as best he could in the tug, which was laden with stores of every description. Within a mile or so of the island, the tug slowed, stopped, anchored ; and he transferred himself to a rowing boat, which carried him three-quarters of a mile. He then climbed upon the back of a coloured convict, or else sat on a chair fixed upon a small platform fitted with handles for two bearers, and, barring accidents, was carried to the shore. The most sane of the insane were formerly employed on this job. But they were uncertain : not unfrequently they dropped their burden into the sea, where it was waist-deep. Convicts prove far more reliable. Their quarters and the lunatics' quarters need no description. The horrors of the lepers' quarters I dare not describe. They would be too ghastly. I asked the good old chaplain, James Baker, to show me the worst case. I saw it. After the lapse of five-and-thirty years I see it now : and I shall always see it as long as I live. How the chaplain could go on and on for so many years, in such a comfortless spot, cut off from the outer world, and among such poor wrecks of humanity, both moral and physical, was a mystery to me. I wondered and wondered. But I didn't ask him. Had I done so, I expect the dear old man's reply would have been, "The love of Christ constraineth us."

Happily the leper wards have been greatly improved. The patients now have the best medical attendance and trained nursing. Much is done also to cheer them in social ways, and to employ those who are capable of work. There is now a resident Dutch minister, and a Roman priest comes over from time to time for the sake of the few Roman Catholics. But the English Church has always had a succession of devoted priests, of whom there are now two—one for the civilian population (*i.e.* the Government officials and their

families), for the chronic sick in the hospital, and for the lunatics; the other entirely for work amongst the lepers. The Rev. W. U. Watkins, chaplain from 1890 to 1901, built for the lepers, at his own expense, the beautiful Church of the Good Shepherd. In 1911, on one of the highest ridges of the island, the Cape Government placed a Home for the leper children, in which they are nursed and taught by three Sisters of the All Saints' Sisterhood in Capetown. It is a pleasure now to see the delight of the children in their new quarters.

On Sunday morning, September 27, the Metropolitan was the preacher in St. Saviour's Church, Claremont, and consulted afterwards with the Rector, the churchwardens, and others, about two alternative plans for a memorial to the first Bishop of Capetown, who is buried with Mrs. Gray in the adjoining churchyard—viz. the enlargement of the church, and the building of a tower and spire. Owing to the difficulty of finding secure foundations, the second of these two plans had, in the end, to be abandoned. But the church was enlarged by the addition of several bays to the nave, and this addition was dedicated on December 4, 1880.¹

¹ Other parts of the Memorial to the first Bishop were :—

- (a) The completion of the endowment for the Diocese of Maritzburg.
- (b) A contribution towards the completion of the endowment for the proposed Diocese of George.
- (c) A monument in the shape of a lofty cross, designed by Mr. W. Butterfield, and constructed of stone and marble upon a square base or pedestal of granite. It stands before the main entrance to the old Cathedral at Capetown.

CHAPTER X

Kalk Bay, Consecration of Church, 1874—Simonstown—Green Point—St. George's Mission, Capetown—Zonnebloem College—Holy Trinity and St. John's, Capetown—Proposals regarding Miss Fair's Community—Mowbray and the Church of the Province—St. Mark's, Capetown.

ON September 29, Michaelmas Day, the Metropolitan left Rondebosch with the Rev. L. L. Sharpe and the Archdeacon of the Cape, and drove by Cape cart¹ to Kalk Bay to consecrate the new church.

The place was full when we arrived, and it was quite a gay scene. The beach was covered with carts and carriages, which had discharged hundreds of people. The little new church is the fruit of the self-denial and unceasing efforts of two ladies, Miss Humphreys and Miss Pocklington. They have themselves given or collected the entire cost, £1500. They have also founded a village school, of which Miss Pocklington herself acts as schoolmistress. Every one was rejoicing with them over the completion of their good work. The weather was brilliant and sunny, and the place itself is really very beautiful. The long line of the mountains of Hottentots Holland, to the east of the bay, basking in a hazy light; the pretty naval station of Simonstown nestling under the hills on the west side, with its men-of-war at anchor hard by; and the exquisite azure of the sea—all these combined to make the landscape one of the most lovely I ever saw. Nothing, too, can exceed the beauty of the wild flowers, which grow all over the hills, and flourish, many of them, right down to the water's edge. Some of the most beautiful are the scarlet, pink, white, and yellow mesembrianthemum, the orange gazania, the blue lobelia, and a very large sort of ox-eyed daisy, some yellow and some white, with grand black centres. The church itself—the only one in this part of the Diocese with a rood

¹ The Cape cart, much used for post-cart and other travelling, has two wheels and a pole, and is drawn by two, four, or six horses or mules. A framework canopy with water-proof curtains keeps off the sun and rain.

screen—is very pretty, the most ecclesiastical-looking building I have yet seen. After lunch, and a talk to the fishermen's children in Miss Pocklington's school, my sister and I drove on over three long sand beaches to Simonstown. At the end of the third beach the bridge had broken down, and, as it was high tide, the waves nearly washed into the cart. We found old Canon and Mrs. Judge and their daughter ready to give us a most hospitable welcome. The Commodore (Sir W. Hewitt), and Captain and Mrs. Mitchell, and the two chaplains of the station, met us at dinner. It was altogether a thoroughly happy day.

On Wednesday, before his return to Rondebosch, he confirmed at Simonstown thirty-nine candidates, including three seamen from H.M.S. *Active*. On Sunday, October 4, after preaching in the morning at Green Point,

. . . I went into Capetown in the evening, and preached in Lightfoot's Chapel, St. George's Mission. The room was crowded. The congregation, almost entirely of coloured people, was extremely attentive, and joined very heartily in the chants and hymns. It was a particularly pleasing and striking sight, and bore evidence to most earnest and painstaking work. I never saw any one whose heart was more thoroughly and evidently in his work than Canon Lightfoot. Hence the success which is attending his self-denying labours.

Wednesday, October 7, was chosen for the Metropolitan's first visit to Zonnebloem College,¹ where he examined the upper class orally in Scripture and on the *Te Deum*.

"The College," he writes, "is doing a very interesting work, though by no means that for which it was originally founded, *i.e.* the training of the sons of native chiefs. At present there are only five or six native lads in residence. The main work done in Zonnebloem now is the training of lads for pupil teachers and schoolmasters. It should be a sort of model school. But the incomes of schoolmasters

¹ *Zonnebloem Native College* dates back to March 1858, when Sir G. Grey, the Governor, brought down from up-country the sons of some native chiefs and entrusted them to the Bishop for their education. He arranged for their instruction at Bishops court, where the College first began, but in 1860 he transferred the College to a farm of about 200 acres on the slope of the mountain on the Capetown side, above Papendorp (now Woodstock). The name of the property, Zonnebloem, "the sunflower," became the name of the College itself.

The present Warden, the Rev. W. H. Parkhurst, Canon of Capetown Cathedral, says: "The original owner, the Dutch wine-farmer, might possibly still recognize in a neat row of Masters' rooms and workmen's cottages his old slave-quarters; in the chapel and big schoolroom his cool wine-store divided lengthways by a wall; in the library, his tasting-room; in the printing office, his cart-shed; in classrooms and dormitories, his cow-sheds, barns, and haylofts" (*Report and Accounts for 1906 of Association in Aid of Diocese of Capetown*).

in the Diocese are miserably small, and parents are therefore unwilling to allow their boys to take up that occupation. Something ought to be done to give more encouragement to education on Church lines. Then we should have better masters, better schools, better Christians and Churchmen, and Zonnebloem might become a most valuable Diocesan Institution."

On Sunday, October 11, he celebrated early at the Cathedral, when most of the newly-confirmed were amongst the 132 communicants. He preached at 11 A.M. in Holy Trinity Church, "and received a very warm welcome, which, under the circumstances of the peculiar view of that congregation with reference to the Church of the Province, was specially gratifying." In the afternoon he confirmed forty-seven candidates in St. John's, Capetown, and preached there at Evensong.

At Bishops court on Monday, October 12, he had a conference with the Chapter of the Cathedral, who assured him that he might rely upon their support in the plan, which he then laid before them, to convert the existing Community in Capetown under Miss Fair into a branch-house of the All Saints' Sisterhood. The outline of this plan was :

. . . That the All Saints' Sisterhood should send out three Sisters to take charge ; that the ladies of the Community should, if they chose, enter the Home under the new condition of Associates or of Probationers ; that such Probationers as were found fit for the life should be sent home for training in the Novitiate ; that the supply should be maintained from England ; that the Bishop should be Visitor of the branch, with the right of appointing the Chaplain ; and that the All Saints' Rule should be binding ; but that if any question should arise as to the interpretation of the Rule, or one for which the Rule did not provide, the Visitor's decision should be final.

Four days later, when he discussed the proposal with the Community itself, all its members very gladly assented to it ; and thus a very difficult problem was satisfactorily and amicably solved.¹ His only fear now was that St. Cyprian's High School for Girls might be discontinued under the new *régime*. This school had been begun at Easter 1871 under

¹ All the members of the Community became in 1876 "Exterior Sisters," and more than one, after passing through the usual Novitiate, a duly professed Sister of the All Saints' Sisterhood.

Miss Katharine Buller, one of the same Community ; and in a letter written to the Mother Superior of All Saints' he strongly urged the very great importance of maintaining it :

It would not be, I suppose, contrary to the intention of the Sisterhood that a school for girls of the upper classes should form part of the work. In this colony, certainly, such a school, if founded on Church principles, is indeed a work of mercy. The present Community has founded such a school, and it is doing *most* valuable work, which it would be extremely disastrous to abandon. Could this be maintained under the auspices of a branch Sisterhood of All Saints ?

Happily the school was preserved, and now bears the proud reputation of being the very foremost school for girls in or near Capetown.

In Mowbray Church on the morning of Sunday, October 18, the Metropolitan preached on behalf of the parish schools. After Service he had "a long talk with the Rev. W. Long and Messrs. Rutherfoord and Wilmot on the position of the Church of the Province, and on its Canons and Constitution. The talk was exceedingly friendly, but they seem, especially Mr. Rutherfoord, to cling to their own view of the question, and disposed to contest the action of the Provincial Synod, unless the liberties of the clergy are more protected by an appeal 'to England,' and also disposed to contest at law the position of the property of the Church 'in order to settle the question.'" In the evening he went to Capetown, and preached for the Rev. C. H. Joberns, his own Chaplain, at St. Mark's, where the church was crowded, and the service "one of the most congregational in which I ever took part."

He had now become acquainted with all, or nearly all, the churches and church institutions in Capetown itself and in the suburbs southwards as far as Simonstown, the last centre of population, whence the little Cape Peninsula extends 18 miles further, till it terminates in the "Lion of the Seas," as the old Portuguese voyagers called it, the rugged, rocky promontory of the Cape of Good Hope itself.

CHAPTER XI

Primary Visitation : The first journey, October and November, 1874.

HIS first visitation journey carried him much further afield, east, north-east, and north. He travelled with the Rev. T. H. Peters, Rector of Stellenbosch, on October 22 from Capetown to Stellenbosch, where the great Drakenstein Mountains opposite the station reminded him strongly of pictures he had seen of Mount Sinai ; and the pointed peaks of the Stellenberg, above the village, of the Mythen or "Mitre" above Schwytz in Switzerland. Stellenbosch he describes as remarkably picturesque, the houses "very clean and neat, each with a stoep in front of it, and every street adorned by a noble avenue of fine oak-trees, with ever-running streams of mountain water beneath them." The church, which was crowded that night, was a very small building, holding only one hundred, but more than sufficient for the ordinary congregation. The school was poor and dilapidated, a mere out-house belonging to the parsonage.

On the second day after his arrival at Stellenbosch he left by train for Wellington, then the railway terminus—strange as it sounds now, when the line runs far north, beyond the borders of the Congo State. From Wellington he drove by Cape cart through Bain's Kloof to Darling Bridge, and so on through Mitchell's Pass to Ceres, a village near the exit of the Pass, close to the mountain side.

The splendid upland plain, on the edge of which Ceres stands, is 1700 feet above the sea, 30 miles or more in circuit, is surrounded by mountains, and was once doubtless a lake. Ceres had no church, only a very poor and mean little school-chapel, in which on Sunday morning

there assembled a European, and in the afternoon a large coloured Dutch-speaking congregation. Two pieces of land, however, belonged to the church, one in a distant part of the parish, 60 miles away, and another, a smaller plot, near the village itself. It was now proposed to sell these, applying the proceeds of the former to build a new school, so as to leave the present school-chapel to be henceforth a church; and to use the money from the sale of the latter plot to increase the schoolmaster's stipend, which was only £40 per annum. He was able to promise an equal grant from his "Association Fund"¹ to meet any amount up to £100 raised by the parish for the improvement of the church; and, to his great satisfaction, the Parochial Finance Committee promptly responded to the challenge with a guarantee of £100, thus claiming the maximum offered.

At Worcester, where he confirmed twenty-one persons, the church greatly needed a new chancel and vestry, and when he proposed to make a grant of £50 from the "Association Fund" on similar conditions to those of the grant to Ceres, the offer was gratefully accepted. The Rector's stipend at Worcester was only £180, so he thought it desirable to stimulate an additional guarantee list by a promise of £20 per annum from the same fund. The immediate result was an increase of £40 per annum in subscriptions from parishioners, making, together with the grant just promised, a total annual addition of £60 to the stipend, and raising it at once to £240.

At Montagu, which he reached from Robertson by Cape cart through Cogman's Kloof, he confirmed fifteen persons, and held a meeting. Again a guarantee list was initiated, amounting to £40 per annum; enough, with £50 from other sources and £15 promised from the "Association Fund," to support a Catechist for this part of the parish of Robertson. At Robertson itself nineteen persons were

¹ The *Association in Aid of the Bishop of Capetown*, founded July 29, 1868, aimed at two objects: (a) To relieve the Bishop of Capetown of personal financial responsibility, by raising £12,000 to provide an income of £640 for the orthodox Bishop in Natal; (b) To promote the Mission work of the Capetown Diocese. The first object was fully achieved in 1877, largely in consequence of the new Metropolitan's energetic canvassing, preaching, and lecturing before he left England in 1874, and a special appeal by him in 1876. The Association subsequently devoted its whole attention to the second object. In 1897 its title was changed to "in Aid of the *Diocese of Capetown*."

confirmed, the Rev. G. W. Anderson was instituted, and at a parochial meeting the parishioners guaranteed £80 per annum for five years towards Mr. Anderson's stipend, the "Association Fund" again supplying a valuable incentive to this self-help by a contribution of £20 per annum.

At Wellington, on his way homeward, the Metropolitan conducted a service in a carpenter's shed for the navvies and mechanics employed in the extension of the railway northwards.

Unhappily a large number of the men were drinking, and very few at first came in. But after we had sung a hymn, and I had said some prayers, and had begun my Sermon, our numbers increased, and at the end there were certainly over thirty. The men were attentive, and after the Service expressed a great wish for a reading-room as a counter-attraction to the canteen. At present the Government seems to have done simply nothing for their comfort or their moral improvement.

This first railway belonged to Government, as nearly all South African railways do. So, on his return to Capetown, he interviewed the Colonial Secretary on behalf of the men, and the reading-room seems to have been obtained. But a year and a half later, when the line was being pushed on beyond Worcester, there was still no spiritual provision for the men, and again he exerted himself to secure this. Thus on June 26, 1876, he writes from Worcester, Cape Colony :

I went out for a drive with my sister and Mrs. Maynard, under the escort of Mr. Quin, to see the railway works at Hex River,¹ about five miles distant. The railway from Capetown had just been opened as far as Worcester, and the line is being rapidly laid beyond in the direction of Beaufort West, 250 miles distant, which is to be the terminus. Some 30 miles from Worcester the line enters the Karoo, in which Beaufort West itself is situated. At Hex River Bridge we found about 300 men at work, including some 30 mechanics. For these, at present, I am able to supply no ministrations; such is the dearth of clergy. Mr. Maynard's age prevents him from taking any work requiring great exertion. What I need is a Clergyman who will give himself up specially to this work, and will be ready to rough it and "endure hardness," living in a tent or a wooden hut, and moving on, as the line advances, so

¹ *I.e.* "The Witch's River."

as to exercise a wholesome control over the various gangs of men employed.

Again on July 3, after another visit to the railway works at Hex River, he says :

I spoke to the men, and promised to do my best to secure the occasional visit of a Clergyman to them, and to the larger body of the workmen above. With the assistance of Mr. Anderson and Mr. Jeffery, and with the help of Mr. Maynard, in whose parish they are, I hope we shall be able to give the men Services on two Sundays in the month, but even these Services mean cart journeys of 60, 55, and 25 miles to those who take them.

From Wellington he went by train to Eerste River, where he was met by the Rev. T. H. Peters, and by Captain Stanford, with whom he drove to Somerset West. Here he visited the school, and was astonished to find that the schoolmistress, an Englishwoman, was receiving for her noble and devoted work simply the school pence paid by the children, which amounted to no more than £13 a year ; and this though she was living with two sisters, and all were in very straitened circumstances. He seems to have made a grant at once from the "Association Fund" towards an increase of her salary, and obtained, at the first opportunity, from the Government Education Department a grant in aid for the same purpose. Next day, after some talk with the Rector of Stellenbosch about the provision of an income for a Deacon Catechist for Somerset West, he inspected the neat little village school at Eerste River, and then left for the Paarl,¹ where the Priest in charge of the work was the Rev. J. F. Curlewis, and his Assistant the Rev. J. Philip Legg.

On November 14 he confirmed twelve candidates at Upper Paarl, and nine at Klein Drakenstein. At both places his addresses were interpreted into Dutch, and he used the Dutch language at the laying on of hands. On Sunday, November 15, there was another confirmation at Lower Paarl. Here he confirmed fifty-four persons, besides preaching at evensong, and was greatly pleased by the evident

¹ When in 1657 the Dutch settlers saw for the first time from afar off the two enormous conical granite boulders which crown the Paarl Mountain, these were glittering in the light of the rising sun, and looked to them like jewels. They called them *Paarl en Diamant*, "Pearl and Diamond," and the name of the former has become the name of the village subsequently founded in the valley beneath.

strength of the work of the Church amongst the coloured people.

The following day he returned by train to Capetown, and licensed, on the 17th, the Rev. C. Hole, LL.D., as Assistant Curate of Holy Trinity Church, Capetown, where on the 18th he confirmed sixty-four candidates.

On November 20 he resumed his visitation, so as to include in it Durban (now Durbanville), Malmesbury, and Abbotsdale, all to the north of Capetown. Durban is in sight of the city, on one of the long undulating hills, which rise out of the Cape Flats. The Rev. G. Lawrence, Deacon-in-charge of Durban, met the Metropolitan at Durban Road Station, and took him to Kuils River for breakfast, and then to see Bellville School, where he found an attendance of twenty children under the care of a coloured teacher, John Anthony, an old Zonnebloem boy. Mr. Lawrence, ordained priest at the next December ordination, only resigned active charge of this same parish in 1913. In those days, besides his own definitely clerical work, he and Mrs. Lawrence, with the help of one girl pupil-teacher, taught the children in the church school at Durban. Thirty-three candidates were confirmed in Durban school-chapel that evening. After his departure the Metropolitan wrote :

Left Durban early on November 21st by Mr. John Eaton's cart, and left it with much regret, as I was much pleased with the Parish, and with the Lawrence family. There are two delightful little children. Arrived at Mr. Eaton's, Drooge (*i.e.* Dry) Vlei, about 12, and met with a hearty reception from him and his sister-in-law, Miss Musgrave. It is a really wonderful place, a complete village in itself, containing 140 souls, and is entirely his own property. He has large carpenter's, blacksmith's, painter's, brickmaking, and miller's works ; keeps butcher's, baker's, grocer's, shoemaker's, and haberdasher's shops ; and employs the whole population. His farm, too, is very extensive. He is a thorough Churchman and Christian gentleman. He has built a School-Chapel, in which he himself conducts two Services each Sunday, one in English and one in Dutch, and has always singing classes, and generally a Confirmation class, and a class of Catechumens.

Early on Sunday, November 22, the Metropolitan drove over with Mr. Eaton to Malmesbury for Service. Malmesbury is the centre of a large grain and wine-growing district,

and ecclesiastically the headquarters of a country parish of vast area, about the size of Yorkshire, but very sparsely populated. In the afternoon he drove to Abbotsdale Mission.

Here I preached to a crowded congregation, chiefly coloured people, in the School-Chapel, a mere barn, and a miserable building. The Rev. C. Clulee, the Rector, is endeavouring to raise funds for a more decent Chapel. In the evening I preached again in the Church at Malmesbury to an overflowing congregation, also mainly coloured people.

On Monday he writes :

I went with Mr. Clulee to call on some of the people in Malmesbury, and examined the Mission School, which seems in good order under Mr. Zeeman,¹ lately come from Zonnebloem. It is held in what was intended to be the Parsonage. Mr. Clulee wishes to sell this property in order to build a new School close by the Church.

The business of the visitation at Malmesbury ended with a meeting of the Church Finance Committee to discuss the best way of securing more regular payment of the sums promised towards the Rector's stipend. Then, after a quiet day at Drooge Vlei, and a Celebration on Wednesday morning in the little Chapel, the Metropolitan returned to Bishops-court.

So ended his first visitation journey in districts of the Diocese outside the Cape Peninsula.

¹ Now the Rev. D. W. Zeeman.

CHAPTER XII

Enthronement of the Metropolitan—Correspondence about appointment to Wynberg—Fire at Zonnebloem—First Congregation of the University of the Cape of Good Hope—Resignation of Canon Judge, Rector of Simonstown—Mr. R. M. Clark of the first Zambesi Mission—The Metropolitan's first Ordination—Christmas at the Cape, 1874—A riding accident.

ON November 26, some weeks later than originally intended, the Metropolitan was duly enthroned in St. George's Cathedral by the Dean of Capetown, the Very Rev. C. W. Barnett-Clarke, and after the celebration of the Holy Eucharist which followed, he was inducted to the chief seat in the Chapter of the Cathedral.

In the early part of December he was compelled, for the first time, to assert his lawful rights, as Bishop of the Diocese, against some who were disposed to ignore them. The parish of Wynberg in the Cape Peninsula had just become vacant, and without even waiting for his acknowledgment of certain resolutions passed at a vestry meeting on December 8, the churchwardens applied to the Colonial Secretary of Cape Colony¹ for assistance to oppose the Metropolitan's nomination² to

¹ The Rector of Wynberg was at that time also a Colonial Chaplain, which was a Government appointment. The practice was for the Bishop of the Diocese to submit to the Colonial Secretary for appointment to the Chaplaincy the name of the person he meant to appoint to the incumbency of the parish. Usually the Government accepted without objection the person so designated.

² The Bishop had the sole right of appointing, as patron, to any incumbency in the Diocese; but, by the rules of the Capetown Diocesan Synod regarding appointments, the communicants of a parish had the right of refusing, by a majority, to accept any particular person chosen from *within* the Diocese. Until, therefore, they should have accepted the Bishop's choice, the appointment was bound to be only provisional—a "nomination," and no more.

On the other hand, if the Bishop chose any one from *outside* the Diocese, whether from England or from elsewhere, they had, at that time, no such right of refusal.

Since the passing of new rules by the Capetown Diocesan Synod of 1912, this differentiation has disappeared, and the communicants can, by a majority, refuse any particular person nominated by the Bishop whether from within or from without the Diocese.

the incumbency of the parish, though this nomination had actually not been yet declared.

The Metropolitan's letter is courteous, but firm and decided. After recounting the above circumstances, he continues :

But my point now is that, my right to present to the Incumbency of Wynberg being indisputable, you have manifested a determination to oppose and thwart me to the utmost of your power, in case I should decline to divest myself of a responsibility which God laid upon me, when He called me to my sacred office ; and *that*, moreover, without having the shadow of a reason for suggesting that I wish to thrust on you a man of extreme views, or that, in the selection I had made, I have been regardless of the leanings or (if I may say so without offence) the party bias of the particular school of thought which, I am informed, is dominant at Wynberg. You have required me not only to surrender ignominiously my rights as patron, but to commit myself thereby, at the commencement of my episcopate, to the acceptance of pressure, almost amounting to dictation, to which I see no limits in the future, pressure which would speedily render my position here intolerable. You have really left me no choice as to what course I ought to pursue. Having an honest regard both to the personal leanings of individual Parishioners, and to the truest spiritual interests of the Parish of Wynberg as a whole, as well as to the fair claims of my Clergy considered as a body, I again, in a spirit of entire goodwill and conciliation, nominate to you hereby the Rev. Henry M. M. Wilshere, now of Caledon. As I wish to be perfectly candid with you, I desire to say in conclusion that, whatever may be the result of this nomination, I have no intention of yielding the right, or abandoning the responsibility, of choosing the future Incumbent of Wynberg, to an irresponsible Society in London (and that confessedly a party one), of the excellence or fitness of whose choice I can have no possible guarantee.

In the end the communicants of Wynberg exercised their constitutional right, and declined to accept this nomination. Yet the Metropolitan's firm stand was not without effect, and they were so deeply impressed by his evident desire to meet their wishes, that when he appointed in the course of the next year the Rev. S. T. Courtney of Charlton All Saints', Wilts., the appointment was received without distrust. It must be remembered, however, that, as the new Rector came from England, and therefore from outside the Diocese, the choice was absolutely in the hands of the Metro-

politan as Bishop of the Diocese, and the communicants had, under the Diocesan Rules, no right of refusing their assent.

In this same last month of the year a terrible catastrophe occurred at Zonnebloem Native College. On Sunday, December 6, the Rev. T. H. Peters, who had just left Stellenbosch to take charge of Zonnebloem as Warden, was returning with the boys from Evensong at Papendorp (now Woodstock) Church, when they saw flames rising from the Zonnebloem buildings. The fire, which was always suspected to have been the work of an incendiary, destroyed school-room, library, chapel, and carpenter's shop. But, strangely enough, the beginning of an improvement in the fortunes of the College almost exactly coincided with this disastrous fire. Four or five Basuto chiefs had recently visited Zonnebloem, and on their return had spread such enthusiastic reports of what they had seen, that no less than seventeen Basuto boys, of all ages between 9 and 25, and many of them sons or brothers of chiefs, arrived from upcountry just a fortnight after the fire. Though it was difficult at such a time to accommodate these newcomers, who had to be placed temporarily in a long-disused stable beneath the dormitory, yet the impetus given by this accession to the College was at once felt; and the new Warden, installed only six days after the fire, was greatly cheered for the uphill work which lay before him. The collection of funds for the restoration of Zonnebloem cost a long struggle, and much personal toil and anxiety to the Metropolitan himself. But S.P.C.K. made a generous grant of £750, on condition that three times as much should be raised; and with this assistance the task was at last accomplished. The new buildings cost altogether £3000. The floorings, ceilings, and the entire woodwork for the chapel, were all made in the industrial departments of the College itself. The new block was opened and the new chapel dedicated on May 12, 1877, a Saturday being chosen by the Metropolitan for the express purpose of enabling several old Zonnebloem boys to come who were in charge of schools in the neighbourhood. His object, as he said, was "to keep up the connexion between past and present, so that the old boys may know and feel

that the doors of the College are always open to give them a welcome, while they are discharging faithfully and consistently their several duties in life."

By that time the scope of the College had been considerably enlarged. Like the phoenix, it had arisen from the flames to a fresh and vigorous existence. It was to be no longer solely a Native College, but also a Day School for the neighbourhood, a Boarding School for sons of respectable white people, and a Training College for schoolmasters for the Diocese—five sons of Catechists being actually in that year in course of education with a view to such employment.

"Altogether," wrote the Metropolitan, "I look forward with very sanguine hopes to see Zonnebloem develop into a most valuable institution, contributing in no slight degree, and in various ways, to the general welfare of the Church in this Diocese and in the whole Province."

These expectations, in spite of many vicissitudes and trials, have been fulfilled in the subsequent history of the College to a large and, happily, ever-increasing extent.

Another memorable event in December 1874 was the first meeting of the Congregation of the new University of the Cape of Good Hope on the 12th, with Dr. Dale, the first Vice-Chancellor, in the chair. The Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, and the Chief Justice (now Lord de Villiers) both appeared in full State dress, and the Metropolitan himself came in his robes as Doctor of Divinity. But the ceremony, he says, "took a long time, and was a dull and monotonous business. It seemed a tiny parody of Oxford Commemoration, yet it may be the beginning of a large and flourishing University."

December 16 and 17 were spent at Simonstown, where good old Edward Judge, one of the original Canons of Cape-town, and Rector since 1840, was in a very feeble state of health, and had just resigned.¹ A meeting of church people left the choice of a new Rector absolutely to the Metropolitan; and he gathered, from the very cordial way in which his speech was received, that the parish would no longer

¹ He died on January 6, 1875. The *Cape Argus*, in its obituary notice of him, said: "His history is written in the hearts of many and many a Cape family. . . . His sweet temper and sportive humour never failed him to the end."

object to join the Synodical system of the Diocese and of the Province.

Confirmations, sermons, and Diocesan business filled up the month. An interview with Mr. R. M. Clark, then schoolmaster at St. Mark's, Capetown, may also be mentioned. Mr. Clark had originally come out from England in 1861 to join C. F. Mackenzie, the first Missionary Bishop of the Zambesi, and he was the sole survivor of the party under Mr. Burrup, which went up the Shiré River, a tributary of the Zambesi, on that disastrous expedition. He now wished to be ordained, and the Metropolitan proposed to place him at Somerset West.

On Sunday, December 20, the Metropolitan held his first Ordination in St. George's Cathedral, Capetown, admitting Mr. W. L. Clementson to the Diaconate, and at the same time the Rev. J. Philip Legg and the Rev. G. Lawrence to the Priesthood.

His first Christmas Day at the Cape seemed "utterly unlike Christmas." The absence of the friends of former years, the lack of all the time-honoured surroundings, the heat of the weather, the decoration of the churches with summer flowers, all contributed to this sense of strangeness and incongruity, which was only dissipated in some degree by the old familiar Christmas hymns. How different this Christmastide was from any other was oddly and amusingly shown by his sister's forgetfulness to make any preparation for mince-pies and plum-puddings till December 20, when she found it impossible for love or money to get the materials!

On December 26, as the Metropolitan was riding past Rondebosch Church, a sudden gust of wind blew a large sheet of paper in front of his horse, which started violently, and threw him. Happily, however, he escaped with a few slight bruises.



Photo Capt. W. A. F. Jones, R.F.A.

BISHOPSCOURT AVENUE.

Entrance and Sentinel Tree.

CHAPTER XIII

History and description of Bishopscourt—A bush-fire on the property.

BISHOPSCOURT, the Metropolitan's residence, is a place of considerable historical interest. Jan van Riebeeck, commander of the first little band of colonists sent out by the Dutch East India Company to Table Bay in 1652, received in the year 1658 from Commissioner Cuneus a piece of ground to the extent of 101 morgen,¹ near the source of the Liesbeek,² and on its south-east bank, in exchange for ground at Green Point, which was found incapable of cultivation, and was also needed for the pasturage of the Company's cattle. Upon this his new property in the same year van Riebeeck planted on the hillside 1200 vine cuttings. As these thrived, and as this was one of the first, perhaps, indeed, the very first, of all attempts at vine cultivation outside the narrow semicircle of the Table Mountain Valley, his farm became known as Wynberg, or "the mountain of wine." But that other longer and more conspicuous slope of the hill, which lay beyond his farm and further to the south towards False Bay, soon acquired the name, and henceforth van Riebeeck's land was distinguished as Boschheuvel, or "the wooded knoll," and under this title passed by successive transfers through many hands, until it was bought in 1835 by Honoratus Christian David Maynier, who had already obtained in 1818, by grant from Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Cape, a piece of waste ground adjoining it, 77 morgen 100 square roods in extent,

¹ A morgen is about two acres.

² The name *Liesbeek* seems to stand for Lischbeek, "the stream of the *fleur de lis*," or flowering rush. The journal of van Riebeeck's little colony notes the large quantity of such plants, growing from one and a half to two feet in height, in the lower reaches of this small river.

at an annual quit rent of £1 : 11 : 6, which, with the addition of a two-shilling stamp, is the amount still paid for this particular piece. Maynier now called his possessions "Protea," after the beautiful protea,¹ a flowering shrub of many varieties which here grows luxuriantly. From a grandson of this Maynier, who bore the same three names as his grandfather, both properties were bought in 1851 by the trustees² of the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund for a sum of £3100 for a residence for the Bishop of Capetown, and from this time, while the land retained, as it does still, the old name "Protea," the house received the new name of Bishops court.

The oldest part of the present house probably dates from about 1780, for between 1773 and 1783 the value of the property, as shown by the old transfer deeds, rose suddenly from £400 to £2267, doubtless because now for the first time a good substantial house had been built upon it; and the architecture of the present structure is in keeping with this date.

The position of Bishops court is one of singular natural beauty. Table Mountain all along its south-eastern side, on which Bishops court is situated, resembles a gigantic castle, with an outline such as that of Windsor. Bastions of rock, pointed crags, and precipices worn and weathered with the rains and storms of centuries, correspond to the towers and turrets of a fortress, and to the long line of wall and battlemented parapet. Here and there, high up and close to the base of the upper rocks, are open spaces covered only with smaller bush, which shows in the distance like grass, and is thickly sprinkled with huge boulders that have fallen in bygone years from the heights above. But elsewhere the

¹ The lovely silver tree (*Leucodendron argenteum*) belongs to the same order, and the legend is that it pines away and dies, if removed out of sight of Table Mountain.

² Not, therefore, by Lady Burdett-Coutts, as has been sometimes erroneously asserted. Lady Burdett-Coutts gave £35,000 for the endowment of two Sees, Adelaide and Capetown. No conditions of any kind were attached to the gift, nor was any document executed in connexion with it. The money was simply paid into the Bank of England for the purpose named. In 1851, four years after the consecration of the first Bishop of Capetown, the trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund expended in the purchase of Protea £3100 out of the £17,500 assigned to the Capetown See, thereby reducing to this extent the sum invested for the income of the See. The Bishop had been renting the property and living in the house since the beginning of April 1848, little more than a month after his arrival at the Cape. The Colonial Bishoprics' Council appointed the Dean of Capetown, the Archdeacon of the Cape, and the Registrar of the Diocese of Capetown trustees of the property.



Photo Capt. W. A. F. Jones, R.F.A.

BISHOPSCOURT HOUSE.

Right wing. The Archbishop's study window.



Photo Capt. W. A. F. Jones, R.F.A.

BISHOPSCOURT HOUSE.

Left wing, with drawing-room verandah.

hosts of trees crowd up to the very foot of these great precipices, as if tens of thousands of eager warriors were hurrying up to the final assault upon some beleaguered stronghold.

Such is the imposing view of the mountain on the right of the Protea road which leads up to Bishopscourt from the railway. About half a mile from the house the wood on both sides thickens ; one great sentinel pine advances a foot or two into the roadway itself as though on guard, and here the Bishopscourt property begins with its stately and unrivalled avenue of magnificent pine-trees. The tall trunks are ranked, like columns, right and left of the road, and the lofty branches interlace overhead with a graceful simplicity and a wonderful orderliness, just as in the exquisite architecture of some delicate fan-shaped vaulting the lines spring upward, and then spread out this way and that way to meet each other above in the groining of a stone roof. After dusk this avenue still more vividly recalls the nave of some grand cathedral church ; and to ride through it alone in the silence of a moonlit summer night seems almost sacrilege. At such a time the moonbeams, slanting through the heavy foliage of the pines, strike the boles of some of the great trees, making them gleam like pillars of stone with an intense ghostly whiteness. Overhead the solemn darkness of thick branches shrouds the roof in gloom. Underfoot the ground is carpeted with fantastic shimmering patterns in light and shadow, answering to a web-work of small twigs crossing each other in the tree-tops above, and swaying gently in the soft night wind. To the right, through the forest, rises up against the sky the huge mountain, blue as in the day-time, but a blue silvered over, where the light falls, with the sheen of the moonbeams, and deepening to a purple blackness, where the shadows rest in the kloofs. Occasionally some tiny glade breaks through the darkness of the trees, and opens out a vista full of misty brightness, like a phantom glimpse of fairyland. From point to point, out of the darkness at the tree-roots, gleams a glow-worm's brilliant yellow lamp ; and, if it be quite early in the summer, amid the lower branches flit numerous fireflies ; living, incandescent sparks that kindle, disappear, and kindle again.

As the avenue lengthens out, its charm is much enhanced in the day-time by the continual rise of the ground and by the exquisite curves of the roadway, and just at the end by the fine sweep of another lesser avenue branching off through the wood towards Wynberg. And here the scene suddenly changes. On the left appears an oak-wood, and on the right, a sloping, park-like field with trees dotted over the grass, the fresher green of oak-leaves and the more open spaces on both sides of the way contrasting delightfully with the greater density and the more sombre hues of the majestic pines of the avenue itself. Almost immediately comes a sharp turn to the right, past a hedge, across which a glimpse can be seen of orange-trees and roses in the kitchen-garden, of the wood beyond, and of the ridge of Wynberg Hill rising above, and then after another few yards the road enters at a picturesque angle, and beneath the outstretched arm of a mighty oak, the gravelled courtyard of Bishopscourt.

On either hand stand the slave-quarters of the ancient Dutch times, long colour-washed buildings, thatched with dark-brown reed from the Cape Flats; those on the right serving as coach house, gardener's house and school; those on the left as a wood house, dairy, schoolmaster's rooms, and the kitchen.

On the third and central side of the courtyard is the house itself. This is in no way pretentious, but is not wanting in a certain dignity of its own, even though it has long ago lost its original thatch, and is roofed with corrugated iron; fortunately, however, at so low a pitch that the iron can hardly be seen underneath the overhanging branches of the splendid oak-trees. For, as in the case of many old Dutch homesteads, so here also, along the three enclosed sides of the courtyard, and a few feet only from the walls of the buildings, are planted lines of oaks, the largest and grandest trees being those immediately in front of the house. Like the avenue, the courtyard is peculiarly beautiful by moonlight, particularly in winter, when the shadows of the leafless branches cross each other jet black, like streams of ink poured upon the ground, in the pure white radiance and frosty clearness of a South African moon. In the day-time the children of the school (since moved into a far more

spacious new building elsewhere) were often a pretty sight playing in the courtyard, merry, barefooted little creatures, whose brown faces, many-hued clothing, and picturesque groupings would have been an admirable study for an artist.

Before recent alterations, which have improved the arrangements and accommodation of the house, the front door opened into the large hall. On the left of the hall was a room fitted up as a chapel, and on the right another room, which was in use as a library. As in most old Dutch houses, the hall was a broad oblong, with a door at each end. In this instance the further door was the outlet into a lovely little secluded upper garden. The two wings of the house on either side of this garden were occupied by the drawing-room on the left, built by Sir Lowry Cole, the Governor, who once lived here, and by the Metropolitan's study on the right. In this garden grew roses, lilies, ferns, and a clump of the quaint, bird-like, yellow and purple *strelitzia*. A descent of eight or ten stone steps, in two flights of four or five apiece, between the bushes which closed in the opposite side of this little quadrangle, led down to the larger garden below. In a few great circular beds in the midst of the grass stood groups of trees and shrubs, including the red-flowering Kafir-boom; and seven splendid red oleanders, when in full blossom, lit up with a marvellous glow the warm twilight on a summer evening, after the sun had gone down behind the mountain. A little thicket of bamboos grew in one place, a rose-apple tree with a seat beneath it in another, a line of oaks fringed the Liesbeek, and, just where a narrow wooden footbridge from the gravel walk spanned the stream to the "picnic-field" beyond, two ancient pines and a great oak-tree, over the summits of which towered the venerable grey precipices of Table Mountain with the dark-leaved indigenous trees of the country nestling in their deep kloofs.

The old-fashioned kitchen-garden on the other side of the house has also its own special beauty. It is a broad piece of rich black soil sloping gently from the pine-woods on either side to the centre, where flows its own little stream, a tiny tributary of the Liesbeek, by whose waters arum lilies and arrow-heads, ferns and foxgloves, flourish luxuriantly.

Walks bordered with all kinds of flowers ; fruit trees of many different sorts, pears, apples, oranges, peaches, apricots, and figs ; here a trellis work wreathed with Maréchal Niel roses, there a pergola covered with bougainvillea and passion flower ; here again a gigantic double row of sweet peas, twelve to fourteen feet high, crowned with thousands of blossoms, blue and purple, pink and white ; pine-woods on two sides, oaks and poplar-wood on a third ; and soaring up over the pine-wood on the right, even more magnificent from this point of view than from the front garden, the splendid mountain, with the ever-changing glory of its luxuriant foliage, and with its robe of marvellous summer haze of purest opal or of deep, transparent, liquid blue.

This scene of beauty had its occasional anxieties, as the following account, written by the Metropolitan on January 24, 1875, will show. Similar bush-fires occurred from time to time in later years.¹

Last week we had a great excitement here. About three o'clock on Wednesday, just as we had finished early dinner, an alarm was brought of a fire in the bush close to my woods. Mr. Sharpe, Captain Mitchell, and I got off at once, and found the gardener, with three or four men, clearing paths between the bush and my plantations, to keep the fire from extending into them. When this was done, I sent off to the General to ask for some troops, and then we set to work ourselves, and hard work it was. The bush was burning wildly with a stiffish breeze. Everything was dry as tinder, and the flames went up sometimes with a "fluor," thirty feet high or more. We had to scramble through thickets, checking the fire on the leeward side, and hot and sultry work it was, I can tell you. There was a blazing sun above, and a scorching fire close to us, and blowing towards us. We worked against the fire by throwing sods of earth upon it ; by cutting down brushwood and boughs, so as to make a clearance to stop its progress ; and, where we could, by beating it out with branches of trees. After it had burnt some seven acres or so, we got it under, and we thought all was over. But about two hours later, when I was out for a walk on the hill above Bishopscourt with Captain Mitchell, we saw the fire breaking out afresh ; so we hurried down. As we got near, we found the troops arriving in two detachments, about eighty men in all. They soon got the fire under control, and then stamped it all out.

¹ *E.g.* in 1888 the Metropolitan writes of another : "It was heartrending to watch the fire rushing along, to hear the trees crackling in the heat, and to see great firs, 40 feet high, enveloped in flame which leapt up even 20 feet above them."

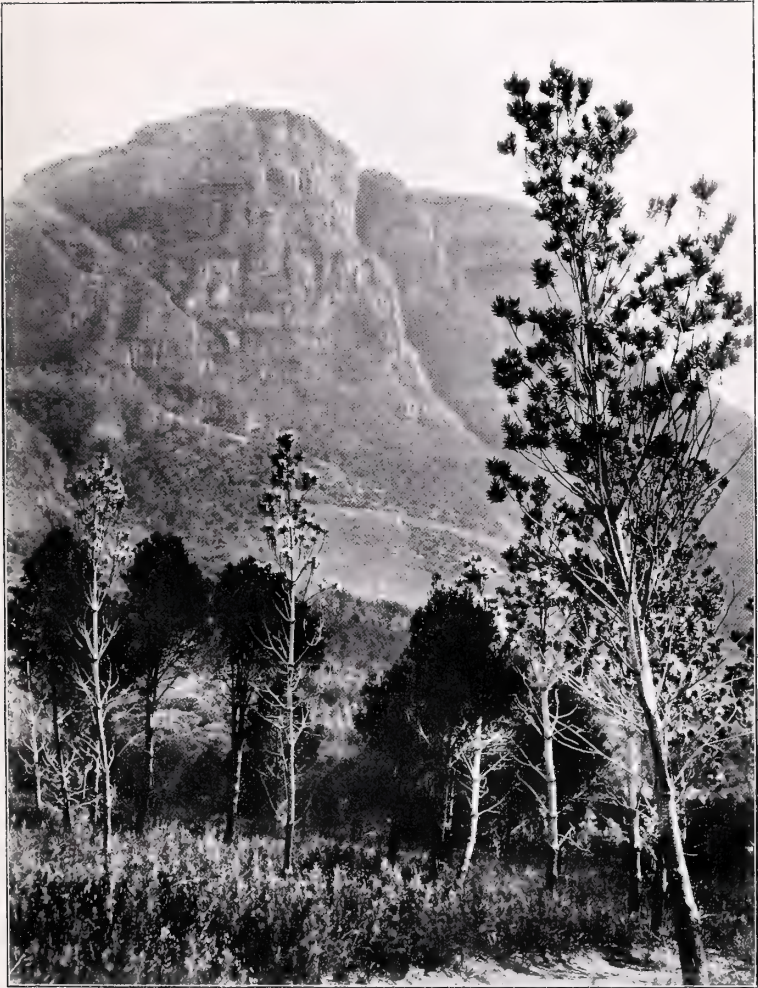


Photo S. B. Barnard, Wynberg.

TABLE MOUNTAIN FROM BISHOPSCOURT GROUNDS.

The great precipices correspond to those on the Capetown side.
Firs and silver trees in the foreground.

CHAPTER XIV

Proposed Bishoprics of (1) the Transvaal, afterwards the Diocese of Pretoria, (2) a Missionary Sphere, afterwards the Diocese of Lebombo—The Mission to Moslems at Capetown in 1875.

EARLY in this same month of January 1875 there was much to occupy the time and thoughts of the Metropolitan of South Africa, over and above the cares of his own Diocese. Under the presidency of the first Metropolitan, Robert Gray, the Synod of Bishops in January 1869, and the first Provincial Synod in February 1870, had both strongly recommended the immediate constitution of a Bishopric in the Transvaal Republic, in which there were "many English beyond the reach of any means of grace, and large tribes of heathen." Into this region, also, the recent discovery of gold was even then beginning to attract an additional European population. Since the death in 1872 of the first Metropolitan, the scheme for this Bishopric had been necessarily in abeyance. But the new Metropolitan was not the man to let slip any part of his predecessor's work, least of all what related to the expansion of the Province and to the development of missionary work. And now the time seemed specially opportune for carrying through this project. Dr. Webb, Bishop of Bloemfontein, whose Diocese in the Orange Free State bordered on the Transvaal, was now in England; and another Bishop who was keenly interested in the matter, Dr. T. E. Wilkinson, of Zululand, was on his way thither. The Metropolitan had already written to the Secretary of the S.P.G., urging the provision of an endowment for a Bishopric of the Transvaal. Two days later, on January 14, Dr. Wilkinson himself arrived at Bishopscourt. After the two Bishops had had a long talk together, the Metropolitan

addressed another letter to the Bishop of Zululand himself, and gave it into his hands that he might make what use of it he could in England. This second letter enlarges upon the importance of immediate action.

This is now a very pressing and urgent question. The country appears to be fairly stretching out her hands, and entreating that the ministrations of our Church may be no longer withheld from her. So far as those ministrations have been as yet supplied, viz. at Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, and Rustenburg, they have been thankfully accepted, and the work that is being done appears to promise well. It is now high time that in a country which is rapidly increasing both in population and in importance, and whither it must be expected that the recent discoveries of gold will very shortly draw a large influx of fresh inhabitants, the Church should show herself ready to rise to the opportunities before her. I do most sincerely trust that, during your visit in England, you may be able, in union with the Bishop of Bloemfontein, and with the aid of the S.P.G., the Colonial Bishopricks' Fund, and the S.P.C.K., to set everything in train towards this end, that the necessary funds may be raised for the endowment of a new See before twelve months have passed by. . . .

It is surely not too much to expect that England will not grudge £10,000 to a work of such vital importance, a sum not greater than is often spent on a single Parish Church, or on a single article of luxury. Now is the time to carry out this idea. A year's delay, or even less, may be fatal to it. There is a cry now in the Transvaal, from our own countrymen, and from others too, for a larger supply of the ministrations of our Church. It may be, and probably will be, that if we fail them now, and close our ears to their entreaties, they will look elsewhere for that which we have declined to give. It cannot be that England's Church will allow this.

In a third letter, written on the same day as the last, and, like the last, addressed to the Bishop of Zululand, and placed in his hands, he advocates, on the suggestion of the Bishop himself, a division of the vast sphere of the Zululand Bishopric by the formation of another Missionary Bishopric for the east coast country to the north of Zululand.

It seems to me that, if it were possible to divide the whole area from the Tugela to the Zambesi, an enormous district extending over twelve degrees of latitude, into two Dioceses, it would give a good hope of approaching from the south the scene of the late Bishop Mackenzie's labours, and of establishing a continuous chain of

Mission Stations from the south of this great Continent to the place where that noble man's body lies, the seed, as one may hope, of a harvest of Christians in those parts.

The dividing line might follow, as he and Dr. Wilkinson thought, the course of the Pongolo River. Tongaland, lying north of Zululand but south of the Pongolo, would thus be left in the Diocese of Zululand, but all the east coast districts from the Pongolo to the Zambesi would form a new Diocese, into which Dr. Wilkinson might throw his whole energies in the advance northwards.

The other Bishopric from the Pongolo to the Zambesi (which might be called the Bishopric of the Limpopo or Bembe River) would be the field for your future Mission work ; your effort being to push northwards to meet Bishop Steere, who is hoping to take up the old Central African work in the Lake district ; and you might also, where opportunity offers, work westwards into the interior.

Three years later the preparations for a Bishopric of the Transvaal were complete, and the first Bishop of Pretoria, Dr. Bousfield, was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on February 2, 1878. But the Bishopric for the east coast to the north of Zululand and Tongaland had to be deferred till 1893. As the Missionary Diocese of Lebombo, its southern boundary was then fixed at the northern edge of Tongaland, *i.e.* practically, as originally suggested, along the course of the Pongolo or Usutu. On the north, however, it was to end at the Sabi River. The part of Gazaland between the Sabi and Zambesi was thus still left in the Diocese of Mashonaland, which, founded in 1891, included all the great territories bordering on the Zambesi throughout its long course from the Victoria Falls to the Indian Ocean.

But if in January 1875 the Metropolitan was looking far afield, and mapping out extensions of the Missionary work of the Province in future years, he was not forgetful of a special branch of Missionary work, one very dear to the heart of his predecessor, and one which lay within his own Diocese of Capetown, and, indeed, within the city of Capetown itself and its suburbs in the Cape Peninsula. In June of this same first year in South Africa he was already engaged

in a correspondence with the Rev. Dr. John Muehleissen Arnold, founder and secretary of the Moslem Mission Society, and this able missionary, who had had previous experience in dealing with Moslems in India and Batavia, arrived before the end of the year to begin work amongst the "Cape Malays," or Moslems of Capetown. Of the results of this work something will be said, in its own proper place, later on.

CHAPTER XV

Primary Visitation : Second journey, February and March 1875—Holy Week and Easter—Ordination of Rev. S. Bond and Mr. R. M. Clark—Death of daughter of the Bishop of Bloemfontein.

THE Metropolitan started on the second long journey of his first visitation on February 18, 1875. The parishes visited were Caledon, Riversdale, and Swellendam.

From Eerste River station he travelled by post-cart through Sir Lowry Pass, at the north-east corner of False Bay, to Houw Hoek, where he confirmed that evening. The Caledon railway now winds slowly up till it reaches the great cuttings near the highest rocks, and in 1875 there was already a good zigzag road. But in old days the ascent of the Pass was extremely difficult. Wheels had to be "riemed," or tied together with leathern thongs, and waggons were then dragged by sheer force up a steep part of the mountain-side. Even now the tracks of this ancient way are still conspicuous near the jagged line of rocks which stand like sentinels along the top. The view looking back from the height of the Pass is magnificent : the broad waters of False Bay towards Simonstown and Cape Point on the left ; the sands of Muizenberg and the expanse of the Cape Flats in the centre ; Table Bay on the right ; and all along the background from one end to the other, from Cape Point to Table Bay, the grand mountain range of the Cape Peninsula.

Leaving Houw Hoek next morning, he drove on towards Caledon. On the way "a large angry-looking cobra crossed the road immediately in front of us," a denizen of the wild veld, and the first live snake he had seen in the colony. At Caledon he confirmed seventy-six persons, including one of the churchwardens. In one place in the Caledon district he

had a very narrow escape from what might have been a serious accident.

We left a hospitable Dutch farmer's house in the valley of the Zonder Einde River just after sunrise. After a few miles we reached a spot on the very indifferent waggon-track where a steep rock called the "Preek-stoel" or "pulpit" rises on the left. There is another way crossing this rock, but, as the river was low, we kept to the lower and very narrow road along the river's edge. Just as we were passing the great rock, one of the horses shied. The left wheel caught on a large stone, and the cart, tilting up, was nearly thrown into the stream. Then, as the horses backed, it stuck half-way down the bank, with one wheel jammed between two stones, and leant over towards the river in the most threatening manner. Meanwhile the horses struggled hard to get a footing. We all three jumped out in a moment, outspanned the horses as quickly as we could; then, one at the pole, one at either wheel, by a strenuous effort we pulled the cart again into the track.

At Hawston, a small village on the sea coast, he laid the first stone of a new schoolroom, towards which the S.P.C.K. had given £35 and the "Association Fund" £70, and he was delighted to notice here, as elsewhere, the open-handed liberality of the poor coloured fisher folk themselves.

Six miles beyond Hawston he reached Hermanus Petrus Fontein, a small fishing village not very far from Danger Point, the headland near which the *Birkenhead* was wrecked on this rocky, shark-infested coast on February 26, 1852. Here he confirmed nineteen persons. On the road thence to Stanford next day he says :

For eight miles it runs along the brink of a grand salt-water vlei, or marsh, on which are pelicans, cranes, wild geese, and flamingoes. . . . Over us, and on the left, was a magnificent range of mountains, the kloofs of which are clothed with assegai trees and other timber. The road crosses the upper end of the water by a ford, which it requires some experience to discover. The wide vlei backed by the mountains, with the other cart in the foreground moving through the water, made an exceedingly beautiful scene.

Outside Stanford he found schoolmaster and school-children waiting on the veld to greet him. When the Confirmation was over, he arranged to give £35 from the "Association Fund" to pay off the £50 debt on the new school-chapel, the Rector and two of the residents becoming

responsible for the remaining £15. Next day he drove on to Napier and lodged with Mr. Bell, and finding that his host, for fear they should fall into other hands, some three years before had bought a building with a piece of land for a schoolhouse, he refunded him by cheque the amount actually expended, Mr. Bell refusing to take interest. Service was held that night in the house thus secured, in a room which was "crowded to suffocation and stifflingly hot."

From Napier on Saturday he reached Bredasdorp, where he was the guest of Mr. Hewitt. The usual Sunday Services were held in a building so neat and orderly that he felt as if he were back in an English village church. After a Confirmation on the Monday, he called with Mr. Hewitt upon several of the people, amongst them Mr. J. Danvers, who drove with him on the Thursday six or seven hours' distance as far as the little village of Malagas on the Breede (Broad) River, which he says well deserves its name.

A fine wide stream, nearly as wide, I should think, as the Thames at Richmond. The large reeds and trees which grow all along the banks make a thoroughly delightful rest to the eye after the long dreary roads of this part of the country, in which there is nothing to be seen but low sandy hills, and plains covered with the useless and ugly rhenoster, or rhinoceros, bush.

From Malagas he went on to Port Beaufort, and thence to Riversdale, of which the Rev. B. C. Mortimer was then Rector, where he was welcomed, at the top of the hill overlooking the town, by a large deputation including the magistrate, Mr. Garcia, the churchwardens, the doctor, and three ladies on horseback. Next day he drove with the magistrate and others to the place where 150 convicts were working upon the construction of the direct road to Ladismith (a different place from Ladysmith in Natal) through a pass now known as the Garcia Pass. In the evening there was a crowded Service for coloured people, and ten adults were baptized. On Sunday, March 7, he confirmed ninety-seven persons in the afternoon. A few of them were English and Dutch, but the large majority coloured, and many had walked all the way from distances of 20 or 30 miles, or even more. But after the Service he had to refuse a deputation which

asked him to visit Melkhoutfontein, where the church had long been left roofless, owing, in part, to dissensions among the congregation.

Departing early on Wednesday, March 10, he arrived after a short journey at Heidelberg, where he preached that morning in the little church building to a tiny congregation of ten. Then he drove on to Swellendam, where on Thursday, March 11, he consecrated the Mission Church of St. Luke, and in the evening confirmed forty-seven coloured persons in St. Luke's Church.

He remained several days in Swellendam, visited many of the people, inspected the Mission schools, and talked over parish business. On Sunday, March 14, he preached in the morning in Christ Church ; in the evening in St. Luke's. On Monday

. . . we drove to a beautifully wooded kloof in the mountains, and walked up it for a considerable distance. There was very little water, but the vegetation was most abundant. Wild almond and wild guava trees displayed their glossy leaves and fruit. I never saw ferns grow so superbly: I gathered fronds 8 feet 6 inches long. I found quantities of the hymenophylla, and a great variety of others entirely strange to me. The overhanging precipices, the bold mountain summits, thousands of feet above us, and the rich luxuriance of plants and trees, made this walk one of the loveliest I ever remember.

The same day there was a school feast under an avenue of oak-trees in the town, and in the Court Room in the evening a large, enthusiastic meeting of the coloured congregation of St. Luke's Church, with their friends and well-wishers. Two of the coloured men spoke extremely well in Dutch. The Metropolitan's own speech dwelt upon the duties of unity, charity, and personal purity, and upon the privilege of having now a consecrated House of God in which to worship.

The return journey from Swellendam through the Zonder Einde valley to Caledon, thence to Houw Hoek, Somerset West, and so back to Bishops court, was uneventful. But it is interesting, as showing the bent of the Metropolitan's mind, to find that he records at Houw Hoek a visit to an old lady who was unwell: "So I had an opportunity, of which I was heartily glad, of doing once more a little of the

work of a parish priest, a work which I miss terribly." Thus ended the second part of his first visitation of his Diocese.

Holy Week and Easter he spent at home, taking part in the services at the Cathedral on Good Friday and Easter Day (March 28). Amongst the visitors who called at Bishops court on one day towards the end of March occur the well-known names of Sir Garnet (afterwards Lord) Wolseley, Major (afterwards Lt.-Gen. Sir William) Butler, and Colonel (afterwards General Sir G.) Colley.

On April 4 he ordained to the Priesthood the Rev. Samuel Bond, and to the Diaconate Mr. R. M. Clark. Next day Dr. Webb, Bishop of Bloemfontein, landed from the *African*. A strong south-east wind was blowing, and the vessel could not enter the dock. The Bishop himself got ashore with the greatest difficulty, leaving Mrs. Webb with the children, one of whom, the eldest girl, was seriously ill, in charge of Canon Lightfoot, who had gone out to meet them. The Metropolitan had a long talk with the Bishop about Basutoland, the proposed Transvaal Bishopric, and the approaching Provincial Synod. Canon Lightfoot contrived to land in the afternoon, bringing word that the Bishop's little daughter was much worse. But it was absolutely impossible for any one to return to the ship, owing to the violence of the surf. The poor Bishop had therefore to remain in anxious uncertainty until next morning, when, going down early to the vessel, which came into dock during the night, he found that his child had already passed away. She was buried that afternoon, April 6, in the beautiful churchyard of St. Saviour's, Claremont.

CHAPTER XVI

Primary Visitation : Third journey, April, May, June, 1875—
Capetown Diocesan Synod.

THE Metropolitan had already started in the morning of April 6 on his third visitation journey. He went by train as far as Eerste River, thence by post-cart to Swellendam ; and on the following day, by ten hours further Cape cart travelling, he reached Riversdale.

The journey from this point onwards may be best described in extracts from his own diary :

April 8th.—From Riversdale to *Mossel Bay* by Cape cart, a long day's journey. Crossed Gouritz river in a flat boat drawn by a man who waded through the broad muddy stream. Ox-waggon crossing in front very picturesque. A fine view from Mossel Bay Rectory at sunset : the splendid Langebergen all the way from near Riversdale to far beyond George ; a bright golden glow over the gap through which the Gouritz passes ; and the mountains eastward fading gradually from soft, pinkish grey to the deep, dark hues of night.

9th.—Confirmed 58 persons, about half of coloured race. Another Service in the evening for the coloured people in their own school-chapel. A meeting about building a new church. Mr. Mudie, a Presbyterian, offered £100 if four others would do the like. Two promised on the spot. The Rector, the Rev. W. F. Taylor, will collect £100 amongst his friends in England, and I myself promised £100 towards a total of £800, or £150 towards £1200.

12th.—To *George*,¹ a 7 hours' journey. Secured another £100 promise for Mossel Bay Church from a storekeeper outside Mossel Bay. The magistrate of George and others, on horseback or in Cape carts, met me at Blanco, and escorted me into the little town.

13th.—With the Archdeacon, the Ven. P. P. Fogg, to see a superb view from the hills. Seaward a vast expanse of water with

¹ Founded in 1811, and named after George III. The new Bishopric of George was constituted in the centenary year 1911.

the waves rolling in upon the sands; inland the lakes towards Knysna, the mountain range, and the forest extending in some places from the mountains to the very shore itself.

14th.—Inspected George Grammar School. Confirmed 108 persons in the afternoon. Parochial tea in the Mission school in the evening.

15th.—To *Oakhurst* with the Archdeacon of George. A cavalcade of people accompanied us several miles. The scenery all the way magnificent. Deep ravines with masses of yellow-wood, iron-wood, and other trees. A mountain stream in each ravine, the banks clothed with ferns, mosses, and shrubs. Glimpses of the Langebergen towering up over the forests. Mr. W. D. Dumbleton himself was away from Oakhurst on business, but Mrs. Dumbleton received us most hospitably. Their house stands high on open ground, with a splendid prospect of the George mountain on one side. On the other, with only a mile or so of copse between, gleams the vast Indian Ocean.

16th.—To *Rugte Vlei* in Mr. Alfred Robertson's cart. From *Rugte Vlei* to *Belvidere* in Mr. Archibald Duthie's. In the forests on the left are elephants. A troop of them recently stampeded a postboy's horses as he was outspanning, and he had to shoulder the mails and carry them to the next village. The road skirts some large salt vleis, which in the distance looked intensely blue in the sunshine. Elsewhere enormous festoons of lichen, many feet long, hang from the trees, giving a weird, venerable aspect to whole hill-sides. Splendid heaths and crimson proteas flourish along the way, and sugar-birds are plentiful. A very different sight was the carcase of an ox in a deserted saw-pit, with at least 100 vultures perched round it on the dead yellow-trees.

17th.—After visiting the beautiful little church at *Belvidere*, I crossed the Knysna (Fern) Lagoon, and confirmed in *Knysna* Parish Church. The chancel, the only permanent part, is faced with stone, which unfortunately has crumbled in the salt air. Foundations of a permanent nave and aisle are laid, but work is at a standstill for want of masons.

18th (*Sunday*).—Services in Knysna and *Belvidere* churches.

20th.—Expedition with three brothers, George, Edward, and Jacob Rex, to Knysna Heads, where the water from the Knysna Lagoon finds its way into the sea between two splendid precipices 300 feet high and only 160 yards apart.

21st.—Journey to *Plettenberg Bay* from noon to sundown.

22nd.—To *Forest Hall*. Rode from *Keurboom* river with Rev. E. Gibbs and Mr. Newdigate. Many steep descents into ravines, down which we had to lead our horses. The vegetation here is dense, and the kopjes on which it grows precipitous, enormous rocks coming into sight continually, with great vertical faces on either

side. The whole scene is one of intense and almost awful solitude. From the high ground we saw the thickly-wooded mountain range to our left, and on the right down long vistas of forest and ravine the sea, and all around us giant trees with huge masses of lichen drooping from their branches.¹

23rd.—At *Forest Hall*. Service in the handsome entrance hall for Mr. Newdigate's household and as many others as could come. Arranged with Mr. N. to make a grant of £100 towards a little church out of the Plettenberg Bay Church Building Fund, which has accumulated from a nucleus of £500 given years ago by his father. Left at noon for Plettenberg Bay, arriving after sunset.

24th.—Confirmation at *Plettenberg Bay*. Assigned out of the Plettenberg Bay Church Building Fund, with Mr. Newdigate's consent, £225 towards the £400 required to finish the church. The intention is to leave £1000 of the fund to accumulate for three or four years for a handsome new church, whenever the new village or harbour may be founded. But I myself doubt its being founded for half a century yet.

25th.—St. Mark's Day (Sunday). Congregation of 190, 81 communicants. Service in afternoon at *Redbourn*. Returned thence by ox-waggon.

27th.—To the *Vlugt*. A 10 hours' drive, ending at 5 P.M. in a tremendous hailstorm. Some of the hailstones quite as large as pigeon's eggs.

28th.—To *Uniondale*, under the overhanging brown and golden crags of Prince Alfred Pass, and through the long kloof now fresh with recent rains.

29th.—The consecration of the church at Uniondale had to be postponed through some delay in the preparation of the consecration deed. Preached on "David forbidden to build the Temple," and the spiritual value of disappointment.

May 1st.—To *Willowmore*, a village in open treeless country surrounded by low hills.

2nd.—Confirmation and other Services in the Court Room. At Evensong Mr. Murray, the Dutch minister, and many of his people were present.

3rd.—Special Celebration for the newly confirmed. In the evening the parishioners met and guaranteed £50 per annum towards maintaining monthly services, but they hope soon to raise £100, which would enable me to send a resident priest.

¹ Writing from this neighbourhood in the following year 1876, the Metropolitan speaks of passing the tents of two men out elephant-shooting, who were going on beyond Forest Hall in search of buffaloes, and he adds: "If they could shoot a few tigers (*i.e.* leopards) it would be a good thing, for these are doing a great deal of harm. Mr. Newdigate has shot or caught four this season, and he says that in the last eighteen months he has lost 200 sheep, besides some cattle, by them. We came ourselves on a tiger's spoor yesterday as we rode from Forest Hall, but we saw nothing of the beast itself."

4th.—Drive of 9 hours : first through a rugged pass near the red precipitous sides of the great Aasvogel Berg (Vulture Mt.) ; then over the vast Karoo plain bounded by mountains on three sides, none of them less than 80 miles distant, some even further. Fine herds of springbok, and on one farm 90 ostriches.

5th.—Off before sunrise for a long uninteresting drive over the Karoo. Met and welcomed by the people of Beaufort West 2 miles outside the village.

6th.—Ascension Day at *Beaufort W.* Very poorly with acute headache and toothache, the result of cold and fatigue, but managed to celebrate for seven or eight persons, and then put myself in the doctor's hands.

7th.—Still poorly but able in the evening to give a short address to Confirmation candidates.

8th.—Confirmation in the afternoon. Social meeting in the evening with music and speeches.

9th.—Ordained in Beaufort W. Church, Mr. F. Greenwood, the Catechist from Fraserburg.

10th.—To *Nels Poort*, 6 hours' drive. Warmly welcomed at his farm by Mr. J. H. Elliott, an enterprising and prosperous Englishman.

11th.—To *Victoria W.*, 13½ hours.

13th.—Consecration of St. John the Evangelist's Church, Victoria W., which has cost £1000, chiefly raised by the Rev. R. Brien, lately in charge.

14th.—13 hours (50 miles) to Mr. Wilmot's farm on the road to Fraserburg.

15th.—16 hours (70 miles) to Fraserburg, a tedious journey with feeble horses.

16th.—Whitsunday at *Fraserburg*. Church people few but zealous ; and much here that is very encouraging.

17th.—First anniversary of my Consecration. I have visited more than half my Diocese ; but each place gives proof of the vast amount for the Church still to do, and of the very little yet done in comparison. 9 hours' drive to-day to Powell's farm. The road for the last seven hours runs in and out of the Nieuwveld range, and then descends through a long wide valley and afterwards through a narrow and rugged gorge, where I first saw the rock-rabbits, or coneys, playing and scampering in and out amongst the crags. Huge krantzies, precipitous coronets of rock, encircled the mountain summits ; and, when the gorge opened out into a wide plain, on the surrounding mountains the haze and sunlight were wonderfully mingled, ochre and grey being the prevailing tints. As evening drew on, the colours became more vivid, and I never saw anything so striking and so brilliant. The sunset was absolutely dazzling ; the clouds of every shade from rust colour to crimson, and the mountains before us first flushed with an exquisite pink, and

then, as the sun went down, gradually darkening to a bluish grey.

18th.—Eight hours to *Uitkyk* (outlook), a little inn between Beaufort W. and Worcester in the heart of the Karoo. Here I found letters telling me of a carriage accident to my dear sister and Mr. Joberns. Both have had concussion of the brain, and my sister was unconscious for nearly six hours. But both are now doing well: *Deo gratias*. Another grand sunset. A storm going on somewhere northwards and great piles of angry clouds flitting past us.

19th.—To *Prince Albert*, which stands close to the grand Zwartberg. Veld exceedingly dry. Not a drop of rain for two years!

20th.—Services in Prince Albert Court Room. A guarantee list of £89 per annum made up afterwards, and sure to be increased to £100. A noble contribution from so small a place, and not including a sure £20 from collections in church. I could not have believed so much could have been done. Promised grants from Diocesan funds: £100 towards school-chapel, and £70 towards stipend of resident Priest to visit Willowmore once a month, and Klaarstroom occasionally.

21st.—Over the Little Zwartberg to *Klaarstroom*. The view looking back just before sunset most lovely. In the foreground, a fertile plain dotted with well-built farm-houses surrounded by fruit-trees and vineyards, and the young corn just springing up. Immediately behind, the great bluffs of the Zwartberg, some covered with fleecy clouds, others shining bright and warm in the setting sun. I seldom saw grandeur and calm so beautifully combined. At *Klaarstroom* Evensong and sermon in a wool-store, capitally fitted up by Mr. Wallis and his family. Congregation 60, including 50 Kafirs, very respectable men employed in the wool-washing. After Service £25 was promised towards the stipend of a Priest.

22nd.—Through *Meiring's Poort*, the "Gate" or Pass of the Great Zwartberg. The scenery defies all description. Mimosas and other trees grow along the stream, which the road crosses about thirty times, winding in and out amongst the precipices, which rise to heights of 1000 or even 1500 feet of sheer rock. Every now and then some cliff-like face stands right across the way. Then as you approach, you discover just one small opening, through which the road threads its way to right or left. The mountain appears to have been torn asunder by some fearful convulsion; for the strata on the two sides of the pass exactly correspond. As we went on, the Poort gradually widened out, and the precipices diminished, till we passed through the S. side of the range. In the Poort itself one peculiarity, said to be characteristic of this district, constantly recurs: first a narrow gorge, then a large circular level of land, as though the mountains had retreated, and then another gorge. Six miles from Oudtshoorn we were met by twelve young men on

horseback, besides many ladies and gentlemen in Cape carts, and with this escort we drove into the town.

23rd.—Trinity Sunday. Services at *Oudtshoorn*, where the Rev. Alfred Morris is Rector. Church, school, and parsonage are placed as three sides of a quadrangle, an admirable arrangement, which might well be copied elsewhere.

25th.—A meeting about building a new chancel, to cost £500. Promised £100 from Diocesan funds.

26th.—To *Ezeljagt* in Lang Kloof, about 7 hours' drive. Many of the Oudtshoorn people accompanied us for an hour's distance on our way.

27th.—With Mr. Groenwald, of *Ezeljagt* farm, to *Schoonberg*, where there is a pretty little church with all the windows of stained glass. Some children were baptized, 16 persons prepared by the catechist were confirmed, and about 30 in all communicated. Returned thence to *Ezeljagt*, and over the celebrated Montagu Pass to George, where I had a most hospitable welcome in the Archdeacon's house.

28th.—Consecration of Mission Chapel of St. Paul at *George*. A large congregation of English as well as of coloured people.

29th.—Picnic party at *Keiman's Gat*, a romantic spot, where the Keiman's river, just before reaching the sea, throws itself down a steep rocky ravine, which is in places only 12 feet wide, but has perpendicular precipices on each side rising over 200 feet. Below the fall the river widens out into a peaceful pool of water surrounded by grassy slopes and woods, and then narrows again for a few hundred yards before it slips quietly into the sea.

30th.—Ordination of Mr. Robert Sheard. The Rev. W. F. Taylor, Rector of Mossel Bay, preached an excellent sermon, alluding with much feeling to the earnest wish expressed just before his death by Mr. Sheard's father, himself a faithful clergyman of the Diocese, that his son might be led to seek Holy Orders, and to the spiritual relationship of Mr. Sheard to the late Bishop, whose godson he is.

31st.—The Archdeacon and his mother accompanied me as far as Blanco. Thence I went on by Brak River to *Mossel Bay*. About 200 persons present at a tea-meeting in the Public School, which was gaily decorated with flowers and flags. Speeches and music.

June 1st.—To *Buffelsfontein*. Confirmation of about 12 coloured persons in a cart-shed belonging to a Dutch farmer, the only available room.

2nd.—Sailed in the *Basuto* from Mossel Bay for Capetown.

3rd.—Off Agulhas at 6 A.M., but wind adverse. All day we only made 20 knots, and were off Danger Point at sunset.

4th.—Last night a fearful gale, as bad as any the captain had ever experienced. Officers on watch had to lash themselves to the bridge. At sunrise, after beating up and down all night just to

keep the ship in motion, we were still off Danger Point. Then, thank God, the gale abated gradually, and we cast anchor in Table Bay at 10 P.M.

5th.—Steamed into dock quite early. Went to breakfast at Government House, where my sister is staying with Lady Barkly. Drove out in the afternoon to Bishops court. Right glad to be at home again, and to see once more some old Summertown faces—the Vearys, who arrived a few days ago.

The Fifth Synod of the Capetown Diocese began on St. Peter's Day, June 29. The subjects discussed included a motion, introduced in "a long, able, interesting, and eloquent speech," by the Ven. P. P. Fogg, Archdeacon of George, who claimed that a Patriarchate of Canterbury existed, and should be recognized. To this Dr. H. Badnall, Archdeacon of the Cape, replied in a speech, "also an extremely able one," and carried an amendment which, while fully recognizing a Primacy of Canterbury, did not admit the existence of a Patriarchate.

When this his first Synod was over, the Metropolitan wrote joyously to his brother and Commissary, Mr. C. C. Jones :

All has passed off most peacefully and happily. Some rather awkward questions came on, but, with an evident desire on all sides to evince good temper and courtesy, everything went smoothly, and men—as is always the case—found when they came to meet one another, and to talk over matters, that their opinions were not nearly so divergent as they had thought. There was, literally, not one bitter or angry word spoken throughout the whole Session.

The sore poverty of some of the Clergy at this time was a very heavy anxiety to the Metropolitan. Within a month or so before Synod, two of the priests of the Diocese had died—both excellent men—and "in both cases their death was, if not caused, yet certainly hastened and rendered certain, by the miserable poverty in which they had been forced to live." One of them had been compelled to drop his insurance, and had never been able to renew it. The other had worked hard and well, and had raised money to build a good church in his little parish in the Karoo. But his own stipend was only £200 a year—equivalent, perhaps, to £150 in England—he was a married man with six

children, and the price of the simplest necessities of food, such as rice and flour, was doubled, or even trebled, by the cost of waggon transport from Mossel Bay or Capetown. The small increase of £20 per annum, brought by appointment to a parish near Capetown, came too late. He died, as three of his children had died already, largely from sheer want of sufficient food.

To prevent such piteous distress as this, the Metropolitan called a meeting in Capetown during Synod :

We had a crowded and enthusiastic public meeting in the Exchange, the Governor presiding, to take steps to form a fund for the better maintenance of the Clergy. Several resolutions were passed affirming the principle, all moved and seconded by laymen, chiefly merchants. It was the best Church meeting, I am told, ever held in Capetown. Promises made in the room amounted to about £2500, spread over a period of five years. A canvass of Capetown has already brought in as much again. Though the Laity in one way or another have everywhere contributed, often very handsomely, to the support of their own Clergy, this is the first effort yet made to raise a local Central Fund for any such purpose. It is at least a good beginning, and will teach us the duty of greater self-reliance. I hope good people in England will not be deluded into the idea that we shall not need their help any more. Our wants are terrible, and we cannot meet them ourselves, do what we will.

Then he quotes, as he had already quoted with great effect at the meeting itself, the two instances of distressing poverty which have been related above. The response to the Metropolitan's appeal was truly remarkable. The Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, headed the list with a promise of £100 a year, so long as he should remain in the Colony. The Metropolitan himself gave £50 a year for five years. None of the clergy were rich ; but five or six, to help their poorer brethren, gave £5 a year apiece for the same period.

The total eventually raised amounted to about £7000, all from within the Diocese ; about £1200 in immediate contributions, and about £5800 in annual subscriptions spread over five years. The latter were paid into the "Clergy Sustentation Fund," which had originated in £8800 collected by Dr. Gray, the first Bishop, and bore for a time the name of the "Gray Memorial Sustentation Fund."

CHAPTER XVII

Primary Visitation : Fourth journey, August and September 1875.

ON Thursday, August 19, 1875, the Metropolitan left Bishopscourt for the fourth of the journeys of his first visitation. At Stellenbosch he instituted the new Rector, the Rev. J. Philip Legg, and then went to the Paarl for the Sunday. On Monday he drove by way of Darling Bridge to Ceres, spent a night there, another at Mitchell's Pass, left at 7 A.M. next day for New Kloof, the point which the railway from Wellington had just reached, and thence for Porterville, at that time "a small group of houses lying on that vast plain which extends from the Twenty-Four Rivers Mountains on the E. to Piquetberg village on the W., and from many miles N. of Piquetberg as far S. as Wellington." Next day (Thursday), at 10 A.M., he confirmed Mr. Owen's niece in the large dining-room of the house, where he also celebrated, and in the evening held another Service. Mr. Owen also showed him a plan of the village of Porterville, expressing his readiness to assign ground for an English Church as soon as required. Starting early on August 27, in a cart sent for him by the Rev. R. Brooke, Rector of Clanwilliam, he travelled over Grey's Pass to Modderfontein, and after a night at Mr. Macgregor's house, reached Clanwilliam next day, crossing the Oliphants River just below Modderfontein, at a spot which had been the scene of many catastrophes in times of flood. Here a postboy had been drowned only a few weeks before; here Archdeacon Badnall had had a very narrow escape; and here the first Bishop of Capetown once had to swim for his life. At Clanwilliam he was warmly welcomed by a

large number of the people, and was deeply impressed "with the universal respect and affection which prevails towards the Rector, and the great influence which, young as he is, he exercises over the people." Again he says :

The word which appears to describe best the character of the work of the Church in this place is "thoroughness." There is a wonderfully hearty love for the Church, as it seems to me, amongst its members. The responding is strong ; the singing, if a little loud, yet thrilling and earnest ; and no one seems to remain silent. Scarcely any one fails to kneel ; indeed, two members of the church remarked to-night to me, "We look on it as a personal and intolerable grievance, if any one refuses to kneel." Almost every one says a distinct "Amen" on receiving the consecrated elements ; and the liberality with which everything connected with the church is supported is very remarkable. To-day one member of the church put a promissory note of £25 into the alms dish, as a gift towards a Parochial Endowment Fund. The church at present consists only of a chancel, far too small for the congregation ; but a new nave is in building, and has now risen nearly to the wall-plate. It is a memorial to Bishop Gray, and the whole cost, except £100 from Diocesan Funds, and £25 from S.P.C.K., is to be defrayed by the Parishioners. The amount will not be less than £700 ; probably more. The material is a handsome white stone, quarried within a few yards of the church. Too much praise cannot be accorded to Mr. Brooke, the much-loved Rector—as much loved, I think, by members of other religious bodies as by our own ; nor to the Rev. T. Browning, who in more difficult times laid the foundations of all this good work.

He noted two other satisfactory signs : that at least thirty persons came to church at 7 A.M. on a pouring wet Monday morning ; and that the parishioners did not plead the heavy expense of building the new nave of their church as an excuse for declining to aid Diocesan Funds. Before he left, he visited the public school, under the charge of the Rector of the parish, and the Mission school, under Mr. L. Pocock, and was much pleased with the order and discipline of both, and also with the attainments of the children, so far as he had time to examine them.

At Clanwilliam he heard some wonderful and well-authenticated instances of the marvellous fertility of the soil near the Oliphants River, where in good seasons the land yields even two-hundredfold. Mr. Fryer, one of the

churchwardens, had himself seen "a stool of wheat which, after successive cuttings, had thrown out 320 stalks"; and knew of a particular crop which was even more wonderful :

A farmer sowed $\frac{1}{4}$ of a muid, or sack, of corn; the river overflowed and he reaped 57 sacks! He found rather a difficulty in disposing of it all, and next year he did not sow. But grain shed by the harvest of the previous year, and escaping the appetites of the birds, actually produced, after another overflow of the river, a self-sown harvest of 72 sacks; *i.e.* the farmer, with one sowing and one ploughing, reaped in two years, from $\frac{1}{4}$ sack of seed 129 sacks of corn! 516 fold! This is vouched for by several persons.

A picnic in the Cedarberg Mountains with a party of fifty was followed by a quiet day of reading and writing, and then the Metropolitan left by Cape cart on his return journey, escorted for a considerable distance by several of the Clanwilliam people. On Saturday, starting at 6.30 A.M. from the farm where he had passed the night, he reached Piquetberg at 7.30 P.M., very cold and numb, after driving in heavy rain such as had not fallen in these parts for some years. Except for a break of about two hours at mid-day, it lasted continuously from the time of out-spanning for breakfast at 7.30 A.M. till long after his arrival, twelve hours later, at his destination. The Services in Piquetberg on Sunday, all held in the Court House, were the Confirmation of four persons, three of them children of one of the two church families in the place, and the fourth a coloured girl; Holy Communion with 11 communicants; and Evensong and sermon.

Seven hours' drive on Monday brought him to Malmesbury; eight hours on Tuesday to Hopefield, which in those days was desolate enough, "the Dutch church a miserable, low barn-like structure, and the English school-chapel cold, untidy, and in wretched repair. It made me shudder to go into it, or to walk round it; so evidently neglected and so poverty-stricken are its fabric and its furniture. There is now no catechist or schoolmaster here, and the church work is naturally quickly decaying." Happily at the present day things are very different. Even then, there were 8 adults to be admitted as catechumens, 7 adults to be baptized, 9 persons to be confirmed next day, and at Holy Communion

22 communicants. Further, several persons expressed so strong a desire to have a resident catechist or schoolmaster, that the Metropolitan undertook to do his best to send one, if the people would contribute £25 towards a stipend; and no less than £19, to be paid in monthly instalments, was promised that very evening.

Another long drive, occupying, with the mid-day out-span for dinner, the whole of Thursday, brought him to St. Helena Bay,¹ along a dreary road, most of it through deep, loose sand; and only beautiful in one part, where it follows the broad Berg River, "the water and islands of which were covered with duikers, flamingoes, wild ducks, cranes, and other water birds." From the house in which he stayed he was delighted to watch some finches that had taken up their abode in the trees within arm's length of the door, some of the male birds being "very busy sewing their nests of grass leaves and rush in the cleverest manner, using their beaks as needles."

The scenery of the drive along the bay on Saturday to Small Paternoster Point was diversified "by some strangely shaped enormous rocks on the rising ground, which stand in almost impossible positions, and by the gorgeous display of wild flowers, which in some places covered the entire surface of the veld."

At Small Paternoster he found an old fellow, formerly a sailor in a man-of-war, keeping a quaint little school in the one miserable room in which he lived and slept. Yet the children, hastily called together to be examined, "showed an altogether unexpected amount of intelligence, and the register an unusually large and regular attendance." The foundations of a school-chapel, to cost about £40 in all, were already dug, and the Metropolitan promised £10 towards it, to add to the £26 already raised. Before his return he

¹ Discovered and named by Vasco da Gama, November 7, 1497. In the journal, or log, of his first voyage it is recorded that "on August 18, when about 200 leagues from Santiago (*i.e.* Santiago, the largest of the Cape Verde Islands) going south, the Captain-Major's mainyard broke, and we lay to under foresail and lower mainsail for two days and a night." In the Hakluyt Society's volume the editor supposes the date to be wrong. But a mistake in the number of leagues is far more likely. August 18 is one of the festivals of St. Helena. Da Gama may have regarded his preservation as due to the Saint on whose day the disaster befel him, which was yet so happily repaired; and this would explain the name he gave to the bay where he first landed, after his long dangerous voyage through the open sea.

visited the little school-chapel at Stumpnose. At St. Helena Bay, where the church population was estimated as at least 600, he confirmed 30 persons on Sunday, and there were no less than 72 communicants.

On Monday he drove for ten hours and a half along an uninteresting road, much of it deep in sand. But the flowers in some places were again glorious, "of all hues and forms they made a complete carpet on the veld." Arriving at the village of Hoetjes Bay, he stayed with Mr. T. Clementson, its faithful catechist.

Hoetjes Bay is the north-west extremity of the beautiful Saldanha Bay, which is the most secure anchorage in the whole of South Africa; for though the entrance is a good and wide one, the bay itself is completely land-locked, retreating entirely behind the land both northwards and southwards.

At the Service that night there was again an overflowing congregation. On Tuesday 22 persons were confirmed, and there followed a celebration of Holy Communion. In the afternoon the Metropolitan left by boat for Langebaan, another Mission station on the bay, and ordinarily about one and a half hour's sail. A contrary wind lengthened the voyage to four and a half hours, and it was long after night-fall when he arrived; but the light of a brilliant full moon cheered the way. Next morning he confirmed 35 persons, and there were about 50 communicants. In his sermon at Evensong he strongly urged the people to complete the school-chapel, the walls of which had been already begun, and towards which the Diocese had contributed £27 : 10s. The men afterwards offered to give free labour, and determined to finish the work without delay. He therefore promised another £7 : 10s. towards wiping out the estimated deficit of £10.

On Thursday he drove along the shore of Saldanha Bay to Geelbek. "A pelican sailing along in the water, and huge flocks of flamingoes standing knee-deep in it, the pink feathers in their wings just flushing the whiteness of their other plumage," were the only objects of interest on the way. At Geelbek he remained that night as the guest of a Dutch farmer, with whom he drove on very early next morning to Boer Plein, a little fishing settlement, a short distance along

that narrow neck of land which runs up from the south end of the bay and forms the right side of the entrance to it.

Here Mr. Lloyd is schoolmaster, and has laboured for many years in a simple, uncomplaining way, though it must be solitary and uphill work.

To the little school-chapel, rough outside, but neatly arranged within, people came from an immense tract of country round. Some had travelled a whole day's journey. Twenty-two were confirmed, who then received their first communion.

Returning to Geelbek he set off thence to Slangkop :

This was the heaviest road of deep sand and large stones upon which it has ever been my fate to travel. The sand has been blown up into huge mounds, whose smooth tops and sharp edges formed by the continual action of the wind reminded me very much of the snowy summit of some English mountain in the depth of winter. We did not arrive at Slangkop till nearly 8 P.M., notwithstanding the help of two extra horses for the greater part of the distance, the other four being thoroughly knocked up.

At Slangkop he was the guest of another Dutch farmer, a Mr. Versveld, who received him with the greatest hospitality.

Leaving early on Saturday, he breakfasted at Mr. W. Duckitt's house at Karnmelkfontein, and was sent on by him, with two fresh horses, to Mr. Jacob Duckitt's at Groote Poort, a comfortable and English-looking house. Thence with an additional pair of horses he traversed the final three and a half hours' distance to Malmesbury, arriving there at 6.30 P.M. ready for the other Services and Confirmation on Sunday, September 19.

An early Eucharist, with forty communicants, at Abbotsdale, a meeting of the erf-holders, or tenants, on the adjacent Mission land about the regulations governing their holdings, and a visit to Mr. Eaton's farm at Drooge Vlei, occupied Monday. On Tuesday, St. Matthew's Day, he celebrated at Drooge Vlei, baptized an infant, spent the rest of the day mostly in writing, and preached at Evensong on the "Call of St. Matthew."

On Wednesday, September 22, he drove down to Durban Road Station, and returned to Capetown and Bishopscourt.

CHAPTER XVIII

Primary Visitation : Fifth journey, October and November 1875.

THE four weeks from September 22 to October 19 were spent in the ordinary routine of Diocesan business. But on Tuesday afternoon, October 19, the Metropolitan with his Chaplain, Mr. Joberns, left Bishopscourt again, and embarked at Capetown for Little Namaqualand, the north-west corner of his large Diocese, thus beginning the fifth and last of the long journeys of his first visitation. His first impressions of the aspect of Namaqualand, after a rough voyage, and with the remembrance of the glorious scenery of the Knysna and George districts still fresh in his mind, were far from cheerful.

The warmth, however, of a generous welcome from the inhabitants of Port Nolloth went far to dispel the dispiriting effects of the voyage and of the landscape.

The place was all alive. The whole population came down to the jetty to receive us, as we disembarked from the little boat which had brought us off the *Namaqua*; and at the land end of the jetty there was a triumphal arch, consisting of two poles, each with a flag flying, joined at the top by a cross-bar covered with red linen, on which was written in letters of yellow moss, brought from nine miles away, the word "Welcome." The poles were wreathed with green from the little bushes that grow on the sand. Even the Governor never had such a greeting! Nor must I forget the grand display of bunting all over the village, as well as from the rigging of every vessel in the harbour; or the two guns which were fired in our honour, one when we got into the boat, and the other when we landed, by neither of which, happily, was any one killed, or even injured! Then the Magistrate read an address, and I made a brief reply.

Port Nolloth is the harbour for the Cape Copper Mining

Company's works, the headquarters of which are at O'okiep, ninety-three miles off. The superintendent of the Company, Mr. Carson, who lives at O'okiep, has two rooms at Port Nolloth, which he put at my disposal. In the evening I conformed in the little wooden School-Chapel, which from time to time is pulled down and re-erected, according as the exigencies of the wind and sand require, the process only occupying a day or two. There was a large congregation and an attentive one. Afterwards the people were invited to meet me.

On Friday the three of us, the Rev. W. J. R. Morris, Rector of the Parish of Namaqualand (which includes Port Nolloth as well as O'okiep), Mr. Joberns and myself, left about 6.30 A.M. for O'okiep. A small locomotive puffs in an asthmatic sort of way at the average rate of six miles an hour some thirty-five miles; and then for fifty-one miles, save where they run down inclines of themselves, the trucks (and passenger carriages, if any) are drawn by mules. At present, the line ends seven miles short of O'okiep, so the last short stage is done by cart. The country for a long way was desolation itself, a howling wilderness.¹ There is nothing but sand everywhere in the plains, with a few miserable stunted bushes, about a foot high, scattered here and there over it. The hills are low barren masses of rock broken into all sorts of shapes; and arborescent aloes, growing with tapering stems out of the bare rock, make but a poor substitute for trees. After about fifty miles, we came up a rather steep ascent amongst rocks, bushes, and aloe-trees to a place called Klipfontein, on the top of a mountain, about 3000 feet above the sea, where the traffic manager and engineer of the line lives. At the end of the line, where we arrived about nine o'clock, after a long and somewhat rapid and perilous descent, all by ourselves, down an incline of 800 feet, we had to wait in the darkness two hours for the cart, which, by some mistake, had not come to carry us on to O'okiep. Then a dark drive of an hour to Mr. Carson's house, where a warm welcome and a good supper cheered us up. Saturday was a quiet day, of which I was very glad. Mr. Morris's Sunday is ordinarily one of the hardest I ever heard of. He has five full services, all with sermons, three at O'okiep and two at Springbok, two in Dutch and three in English. That is pretty good, is it not, for one man, in a tryingly hot climate, where the thermometer in summer is frequently

¹ Any good rain, however, turns large tracts of desert land, as if by magic, into a veritable garden of flowers. When the Metropolitan, or Archbishop as he was then commonly called, visited Namaqualand in the winter months of 1898, which were unusually wet, he wrote from O'okiep: "On Sunday, July 31, it snowed and sleeted all day long. I never before had walked to Church in South Africa through falling snow, and on the way up from Port Nolloth by train the previous week I passed mile upon mile of flowers of all sorts and hues, the veld being perfectly covered with them. It was a blaze of colour, like rainbows spread on the ground, and whole hill-sides were masses of gold. Probably the veld will be even more glorious, if possible, on my return journey."

at 110° in the shade, and has been known to stand at 125°? Springbok was once a large place and the centre of the mining works, but, the copper becoming scarce, the headquarters were moved to O'okiep. At O'okiep the Church remains unconsecrated; but in Springbok's palmy days a very pretty little Church was built and consecrated, which it is sad to see now almost deserted. The mines here have been altogether abandoned for the present, and the dismal appearance of the village you may imagine, when I tell you that many of the cottages have been robbed of their roofs, doors, and windows, to serve for newly-built houses at O'okiep.

From Springbok the Metropolitan drove to Modderfontein. Leaving Modderfontein at 5.30 A.M. with Mr. Morris and Mr. Joberns, he rode over to Spektakel, where the Cape Copper Company employed about ninety hands. The scenery along the whole twenty miles was fine, but rough and rocky and deficient in trees, though mimosa bushes grew in the valley along the dry river-bed, and numbers of the gaunt koker-boom, or tree-aloe, stood here and there amongst the rocks. Spektakel itself he found a "melancholy and torrid" place. In the afternoon he and his companions walked as far as the small copper mine, and clambered some way down it. In the evening he confirmed eleven candidates. After a celebration of the Holy Communion next morning at 5 A.M., when, with one exception, all the newly confirmed communicated, he started on his return journey from this "the most distant village of the Diocese, and the last I had to visit." In two or three days spent at O'okiep he called on many of the people, confirmed twenty-eight persons, and, in company with Mr. Joberns, descended the great copper mine

. . . as far as the 68-fathom level, the lowest at which copper has yet been found, though its discovery is expected in the 80-fathom level. We arrayed ourselves in miners' shirts, and each carried a candle. After the first 20 fathoms, where there was an incline of steps, the descent was by ladders, all nearly, and some quite, perpendicular, with scarcely any room on either side, and passing along the line of the great pump, which made alarming noises continually, besides dropping a considerable amount of water upon our heads and bodies. The excavations in all the levels (20, 30, 48, 58, and 68 fathoms) are enormously large, differing in this respect from the English copper mines; the ventilation is good, and large gangs of men work in them with no inconvenience. The whole rock seems full of broad

veins of metal, much of it wonderfully rich. The ore, sent to market either in lumps or in powder, averages 35 per cent of copper. The best has as much as 70 to 75 per cent.

On Sunday Oct. 31, at Port Nolloth, before he sailed for Capetown, he received a very generous offer on the part of Mr. Carson which helped him to arrange for the building of a very much needed Parsonage.

The return voyage had to be postponed for a day owing to the violence of the south-east wind. Early in the morning of November 3 it became possible to start; but even then the sea continued rough all the way. Arriving at Capetown Docks on November 5, he went out at once to Bishopscourt, where he found it truly delightful "to be at home again, and to see some green trees; to hear the continual murmur of the Liesbeek, and to smell some fresh flowers."

So ended the five long journeys of his first visitation.

CHAPTER XIX

Provincial Synod of 1876—Visitation of 1876 : Melkhoutfontein in Riversdale Parish—Mission stations along the Caledon coast-line.

THE greatest event of the year 1876, and one of peculiar importance to the Province of South Africa as a whole, was the meeting of the Provincial Synod on January 25.

This Second Provincial Synod, which lasted until February 16, ratified without very much change the provisional Constitution and Canons of the First Provincial Synod of 1870. But (1) in the *Constitution* : in Article 1, two clauses were inserted, drawn respectively from the Preamble to the Constitution itself, and from the *Declaration of Fundamental Principles*, set forth in 1870 : and (2) in the *Canons* : (a) the Canon *Of Election and Confirmation of Bishops* was carefully revised, and divided into two ; (b) a Canon *Of Coadjutor Bishops* was inserted ; (c) an alteration was made in the Canon *Of Holy Matrimony*. This last amendment provoked a keen debate, extending over several days, and more than once waxing somewhat hot. The Metropolitan himself on one of these occasions spoke for an hour and a half, taking an opposite line to that of the vehement speech just delivered by Dr. Macrorie, Bishop of Maritzburg. But the Bishop, though outvoted, was so deeply impressed by the Metropolitan's perfect fairness and candour, that three months later, speaking at a public meeting in England, he said :

The recent Synod did much good, and I thank God for having given us our Metropolitan. I have had many times to consult him about my Diocese, and he has always given his best thoughts to its welfare. Not only has Capetown its Bishop, but the Province has its Metropolitan, who has at heart the work of every Diocese.

Welby. Webb. Callaway. West Jones. Macorie. Merriman.



Photo S. B. Barnard, Wynberg.

Alvan W. Bloomfield

Hampdy Roberts

Alvan W. Merriman

J. E. H. H. H.

W. W. J. J.

N. J. J. J.

METROPOLITAN AND BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE (ZULULAND VACANT)
AT THE SECOND PROVINCIAL SYNOD, 1876.

In the four and a half months occupied by two long visitations in this year, the Metropolitan traversed again the greater part of the Diocese. The most picturesque incident was his arrival at Melkhoutfontein, which he describes as follows :

I left Riversdale with the Rector, the Rev. J. A. Hewitt. At the Kafir Kuils River, a fine broad stream, though shallow in places, we found six boats, containing about thirty men from Melkhoutfontein, drawn up ready to take us on board, and escort us down the river. Each boat had one or more flags flying, and the whole flotilla was in charge of Mr. Fox, the catechist of the Mission station at Melkhoutfontein. We rowed in procession down the beautiful river for six miles or so, between steep banks, lined here and there with orange, walnut, peach, pear, and other fruit-trees, which flourish well at the mouth of each kloof. Then we reached the sandy promontory, which forms the landing-place for the Mission station. About 150 persons, men, women, and children, were grouped in a semi-circle round a flag-post with a Union Jack flying upon it. As our boats touched the sand, the oarsmen stood up and tossed their oars, whilst the people on the shore struck up a hymn, and then a sacred melody "Soon we'll gather at the river," words which sounded singularly appropriate. It was one of the prettiest and most picturesque sights I ever saw. Next we all marched up the hill to the Mission station, about a mile distant, where I spoke to the people, Mr. Hewitt interpreting, outside the door of the new chapel, which has been roughly completed. It is a plain rectangular oblong of stone and thatch with a mud floor. Planks are laid along the rafters, and on these, when the building is crowded, some of the congregation sit, with their legs hanging down like icicles. The people are wonderfully simple and primitive, and the building is in keeping. Next day at 9 A.M. I confirmed 37 persons, and there were 82 communicants at the Celebration, a number remarkable for a week-day, and for a population of very little over 300. Many came from very long distances, and a large company had to encamp for the night on the veld. It was really beautiful to hear them at nightfall singing their hymns before going to rest.

Another part of the same journey is related by the Metropolitan in the *Mission Field* of March of the next year under the title of

A DAY'S MISSION WORK ON THE SOUTH COAST OF AFRICA

On Tuesday, August 29, 1876, we, that is, the Rev. J. Eedes, Rector of Caledon, and I, started from Caledon in a Cape cart,

drawn by a good team of four horses, and well laden with luggage, for I was on a four months' round, to visit the remote Mission stations in the south of the parish. It had been blowing hard and raining fiercely most of the night, and felt to us almost as cold, when we drove off, as a real winter's day in England. The road at first lay over some most uncomfortably exposed places, bare bleak hills, where Aeolus blew so hard that he threatened to overturn the cart, and Jupiter Pluvius dashed the contents of his water-vessel right into our faces. Happily we were cheered by occasional gleams of light, and fragments of rainbows. Besides we soon began to descend into more sheltered places, where the track ran along the bottom of a broad valley, with a range of high hills on either side of us. On the right is one of the most beautifully shaped of all our South African mountains, called, though I never could ascertain the reason, "The Tower of Babel."¹ But though the hills sheltered us from the wind, we soon found the roads had suffered so much from the late rains as considerably to retard our progress. After a nearly five hours' drive, we reached our first Mission station, a little fishing village, named Hawston. The weather became much worse, and we arrived in a very heavy storm of rain, with but little prospect of any immediate change. There were twelve candidates for confirmation here, who had been prepared by the village schoolmaster, and by the Rector on his occasional visits, but who were to go on for the Confirmation Service to the next village, about six miles distant, where there is a fairly commodious school-chapel. Happily for them, only one had started, and she had gone the day before. The rain and the wind were so violent, and the road between the two villages was known to be so desperately dirty and boggy, that we agreed it would be best that the candidates should be confirmed in their own village in the little schoolroom, which is used every Sunday for a short Service by the schoolmaster. The room is a tiny one for either Service or school, 8 feet high, 9 feet wide, and 18 feet long, but it is the largest in the master's house. A boy was despatched to summon the people, and in half-an-hour's time about sixty or seventy, nearly all the population, were huddled into this room, and packed as close as they could sit or stand. They were of all ages and of all colours: aged black women with white handkerchiefs on their heads, made up into close fitting caps; English sailors, who, having run away from their ships, had settled down in this remote corner as fishermen, and had taken to themselves coloured wives; Portuguese, with their swarthy faces; and, as usual in these poor little settlements, any number of children. Last year when I visited the village, I laid the foundation-stone of a new schoolroom with a master's house, and I remember well how, when the Service was over, every one of these

¹ Probably from a resemblance to pictures of the "Tower of Babel" in old Dutch Bibles.

coloured people, even the poorest, made his humble offering, and the tiniest mites of children squeezed through their father's legs, or past their mother's skirts, to deposit their pennies, or three-penny pieces, on the plate. Unhappily, owing partly to the price of material, and partly to the scarcity of labour, the building is still only half finished. But to return to our room, in which the Service was to be held. The Chapel furniture is of the scantiest and the roughest. Three kitchen chairs, and a number of rickety forms for seats, a very shabby deal table, which had to serve for pulpit, prayer-desk, lectern, font-stand, and altar-rail; a tumbler of water for a font; and a white plate, wrapped in newspaper, for an alms-dish. The floor was a rough uneven surface composed of clay. In the adjoining room, of which the door into the schoolroom was open, lay the schoolmaster's sick wife, laid low by disease and poverty. It was certainly the roughest room I ever wish to use for Divine Service, but all seemed very earnest, and I am sure God was as much present, and as comfortingly present, to bless us, as though we were assembled in one of our stately cathedrals, or well appointed parish churches, in the dear old country. An adult and two children were baptized, and ten persons, including an old black man and his sons, were confirmed. I wish some of my friends, accustomed to all the beauty of holiness in their own churches, could have looked in and seen the rude, but hearty and real, worship of these poor simple folk, in the little school-room at Hawston. About three o'clock we set off again in the rain for a drive of six miles, over, I think, the most dangerous and ill-kept road in the whole Diocese. Indeed, it could hardly be called a road. It would not even be dignified with the name of a mere track in England. We were knocked about, as though we were on board a little sailing vessel in the midst of a heavy sea; up on one side, over a great lump of stone, and down on the other side into a hole of black mud; here, finding a road for ourselves through the bush; there, wishing we had done so, instead of trusting to the wheel-track; and sometimes down we went, and then sharply up again, through the drift of some swollen mountain stream. It was really a mercy that we arrived with no breakage of cart, harness, or limb of man or beast, at Hermanus Petrus Fontein.¹ This is another fishing village, not smuggling comfortably under bush-covered sandhills as Hawston does, but standing exposed to the violence of every wind, on the

¹ This vivid description, if no longer true of travelling in Caledon district, still holds good of cart journeys in the heart of Kaffraria. A newcomer who had endured with much interest, if not with actual enjoyment, those terrific shocks and sudden bangs, which threaten to smash the cart or to dislocate the traveller's bones, on his arrival made the very natural remark to his Kaffrarian friends, "How very rough your roads are!" "Rough?" said they. "Why, just now they are like billiard-tables!" The comparison seemed a trifle odd and perplexing. Two days later, however, a solution suddenly occurred to him. "Ah! now I know," he said, "why you describe the roads as like billiard-tables. You have so much cannoning upon them, and the traveller is not the player but the ball."

broad flat level of land between the sea and that mountain range, which runs, roughly, parallel with the coast-line, though sometimes several miles from it. The great man of this little settlement combines the occupation of a general dealer on a small scale with that of fisherman. A sailor once, he was afterwards a soldier in the Kafir wars under Sir Harry Smith. He is now a fisherman, merchant, a quasi-constable, churchwarden, and I know not what else. Into his little house we were warmly welcomed. It is a long hut, with walls $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and a thatched roof, containing four rooms, all in a line. Here we were hospitably entertained, though, as all hope of our arrival had been abandoned in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, the pair of fowls which was to have been slaughtered, was spared to grace the table another day, and may yet furnish us a repast on our next visit. In the evening we held Service in the school-chapel, which, I must own, is better furnished than at Hawston. The schoolmaster, an old Zonnebloem boy, is the organist, but the organ is something of the nature of a concertina. We are so unaccustomed in any of these little out-stations to any instrument at all, that we seemed almost to have jumped at once out of barbarism into civilization. The Service—Evensong and the Confirmation office—was well attended, and the people reverent. The music was so hearty as to be almost too penetrating for musical ears. About nine o'clock (early hours are the rule here) we retired to the beds prepared for us in the room in the master's house—much I fear to his inconvenience—and had soon forgotten in our slumbers the knocks and jolts of the Strandveld roads.

CHAPTER XX

A long journey through five Dioceses of the Province, 1877.

IN the latter part of the year 1877 the Metropolitan began his first South African journey beyond the boundaries of Capetown Diocese. Between May 16 and June 6 he had visited Malmesbury, Abbotsdale, and all the Mission stations along the coast of Malmesbury parish ; between July 4 and July 21, Namaqualand ; and between August 6 and August 8, the parishes of Stellenbosch and Paarl. Even the much longer journey he was now undertaking was combined with a visitation of the south-east and north-east districts of his own Diocese. Leaving Capetown by sea on August 18, he landed at Mossel Bay. From this point onwards all the travelling was done by Cape cart, for there was, as yet, no railway in those parts. Departing on the 21st, he reached Oudtshoorn after a fifteen hours' journey, including three outspans of one and a half hours each, remained there three days, and laid the foundation-stone of the new chancel. Klaarstroom, Prince Albert, and Beaufort West were the next stopping-places ; and from the last-named he made an expedition to Fraserburg—two days of travelling thither, two days there, and two days in coming back. He left Beaufort West again the day after his return from Fraserburg, passed the night of September 12 at the hospitable house of Mr. W. Elliott at Nels Poort, and reached Victoria West at the north-east extremity of his own Diocese two days later. In these four weeks only two special incidents occurred. On the way to Fraserburg one night, soon after dark, and at a steep, dangerous descent, both horses fell over some large boulders just off the side of the road, though happily they were

extricated without injury. Another night, on the return journey, the only bivouac available was a threshing-floor, *i.e.* not a covered barn, but a circular roofless surface of trodden clay, surrounded by a low wall about three feet high, simply an open space where the grain is trampled out from the husk by horses or oxen, and is then winnowed from the chaff.

We slept here, as well as we could, in our karosses, or rugs of fur. But at 4 A.M. the cold was so extreme that we could lie still no longer. We therefore walked on two miles or so, till the man had inspanned the horses and had overtaken us. Then we drove on till 6.30 A.M., when we breakfasted just after sunrise.

It was a time of terrible drought in this district.

Not a green leaf is to be seen, and carcasses and skeletons of sheep and horses lie everywhere. More than half the sheep in the Beaufort West division are dead, and others are dying daily. There are scarcely any lambs left. Many of the large farmers have not saved a single one. On the way we saw a very sad sight. A cow was lying dead—life was evidently only just extinct—and by her side lay her little calf, sick with hunger, waiting quietly for death to come to end its misery.

On Monday, September 17, he left Victoria West for the north. Five days afterwards at Magersfontein, and little dreaming of the associations which twenty-two years later that name would acquire in the South African War, he wrote to his sister an account of the first part of the journey. The four places he names in it—Richmond, Hanover, Philipstown, and Hopetown—were then in the Diocese of Grahamstown, and he visited them by arrangement with their own Bishop, who was ill.

Here I am at Magersfontein for an hour or more, while the horses are being fed and rested. I expect to reach Kimberley about 3 o'clock, and am safe over the hardest part of my journey, and not much the worse for the exposure to the cold winds of the early morning and the hot sun of mid-day. I need not describe the country I have travelled over, for it is the same throughout—exceedingly dreary and monotonous, one interminable plain, intersected here and there by long lines of flat low ridges, or by little hills, conical-shaped, but with the tops cut off. It is all frightfully dry, with scarcely a green thing to be seen. The only objects of interest are the herds of

springbok, varying in numbers from three or four to three or four hundred—most graceful creatures, and full of movement—running, bounding, and galloping ; sometimes standing quite close as the cart passes, and sometimes tearing off at the first sound of wheels. One farmer told me he had 6000 or 7000 on his land. On Monday evening I arrived from Victoria West at Richmond, held Service in the Court Room and a meeting of the Church people. On Tuesday I had a short journey to Hanover. Churchmen were few, and no arrangements had been made for a Service ; so I had a quiet evening, and contented myself with calling on one or two persons. Starting early on Wednesday I reached Philipstown about sunset. Again Church folk were scarce, numbering about half-a-dozen adults. But several Scotch Presbyterians and English dissenters were also glad to come to the Service, which I held in the Public School. I was the guest of some very kindly Presbyterians, who, with one or two others, had arranged to send me on half-way to Hopetown on Thursday. This was my longest and hardest day. I started about 5 A.M., and was driven by a man so sleepy that I had to take the reins from him. I think he was not quite sober. One of the horses began to stick, and both were tired before we got to our half-way house. For the last three miles I had sometimes to run alongside with the whip, sometimes to pull at the bridles, and once to push at the wheel ; while my companion sat like a log in the cart, and merely held the reins. Half-way, the Chief Constable from Hopetown met me with a cart and four horses ; and I was glad enough of the change. I found a good evening's work awaiting me. Mr. Burton, the Magistrate, and his excellent wife, a sister of Mr. Fryer of Clanwilliam, had prepared carefully no less than fifty-five adults and collected forty-five infants for baptism ! The Service was held in a little canvas building, erected by the coloured people at their own cost, and lasted from 7.30 to 10 o'clock. The room was perfectly full, and frightfully hot. Next morning, in the Court Room, I confirmed twelve young persons, celebrated the Holy Communion, and preached, the whole Service lasting from 7 to 10 A.M. After breakfast I started off on the road to Kimberley, travelled ten hours, and rested for the night at a little hotel half-way. The good inn-keeper, saying that he never took anything from the clergy of his Church, refused payment.

Crossing a terribly bad drift at the junction of the Modder and Riet Rivers, he reached Kimberley on Saturday afternoon, where he found Dr. Webb, Bishop of Bloemfontein, and with him visited the Cottage Hospital, and later in the evening, by moonlight, the great diamond mine.

On Sunday, September 23, he preached in the morning to an enormous congregation in St. Cyprian's Church, and

in the afternoon, through an interpreter, to sixty or eighty natives—Kafirs, Bechuanas, and Basutos—in St. Matthew's Church, then in charge of the Rev. W. H. R. Bevan, subsequently Canon of Bloemfontein.

The two Bishops left Kimberley on Tuesday, slept as well as they could—one in a chair and the other on a table—in a little roadside inn, at which they arrived at 2 A.M., and came into Bloemfontein, after another sixty miles' travelling, on Wednesday evening. That same night the Metropolitan went with the Bishop to the Theological College, and met, amongst others, the Rev. E. W. Stenson, first Missionary of the English Church in Basutoland, and founder of the Mission at Mohales Hoek; the Rev. R. K. Champenowne, another pioneer who has left a saintly memory behind him at Thlotse Heights; and the Rev. W. T. Gaul, then Precentor of the Cathedral, afterwards Bishop of Mashonaland. Whilst at Bloemfontein he also saw St. Andrew's School, of which Canon Douglas McKenzie, afterwards Bishop of Zululand, was then headmaster, and the admirable High School, under the Sisters of St. Michael's Home, Bloemfontein—a Sisterhood founded by Dr. Webb, the Bishop, three years earlier—who were educating, amongst others, the younger daughters of the President of the Orange Free State Republic, Mr. Jan Hendrik Brand.¹ When he met the President and Mrs. Brand, he found them "delightful people, and most friendly and hospitable."

"The President," he says, "is greatly respected, and quite as much by the English as by the Dutch. He has the welfare of the State thoroughly at heart, and desires to see progress and improvement in every branch of industry, and especially in the cultivation of the land."

Besides the usual Services on Sunday, September 30, the Bishop of Bloemfontein held an Ordination at which the Metropolitan was the preacher. On Tuesday the two Bishops left Bloemfontein for the Mission at Thaba 'Nchu, of which the Rev. George Mitchell was Priest-in-charge. From thence they went on to Modderpoort, Bethlehem, Kroonstad, Potchefstroom, and Rustenburg, and so to

¹ President 1865 to 1888, an upright and wise ruler, whose memory is deservedly honoured throughout South Africa.

Pretoria. At each of these places, except Kroonstad, they stayed for some days, and the following extracts from the Metropolitan's diary, or letters, are not without interest :

Thaba 'Nchu, a curious place, was my first experience of a purely native town. It contains several thousand inhabitants, all living in circular mud houses, and, though in the heart of the Free State, is the Capital of a Baralong Chief named Moroka. In his little territory he has 12,000 subjects. The English Church has a Mission station and so have the Wesleyans. But the Wesleyans are the Chief's favourites, and he taxes all his people to build their Chapel though not himself a Christian. After the Confirmation of five Baralongs and a celebration of Holy Communion, we had breakfast, and then went to pay our respects to the Chief who was seated in the open air in Council, about to try one of his subjects. He is a withered, wrinkled old man, but has a kindly face. Over the upper part of his body and shoulders he wore nothing except a skin thrown across his back and hooked together across his breast. He rose to receive us ; but after exchanging a few words, we shook hands with him and withdrew, as he was engaged, and we also were in a hurry to get on our way. Two of his sons were educated at Zonnebloem and are Christians. One of them is in the surpliced choir at Thaba 'Nchu. The other took us into his mud hut, which was quite comfortable and very clean. His wife was much pleased to show us her house, and evidently took pride in it. High enough in the middle for me to stand upright, it was lighted all round by little circular openings like port-holes, and divided by a reed-matting screen into sitting-room and sleeping-room. Round the walls were a number of pictures from the *Illustrated London News*, and of these he seemed very proud. It was strange to see engravings of Leslie's and Frith's pictures in recent Royal Academies lining the walls of a Baralong hut, in this distant, uncivilized part of Africa.

Modderpoort has a beautiful little stone church, admirably arranged, and is the headquarters of a Brotherhood called the Society of St. Augustine, founded in 1867 by the Rev. H. F. Beckett, a Canon of Cumbrae. Besides himself, the only Brother now in residence is a Deacon named Brother John, a son of the late Rev. Isaac Williams. The Brothers spend their time in evangelizing the natives, in visiting the neighbouring English people, in holding Services at various centres, and in cultivating the ground of their own farm, and they have been the pioneers of the Church in all the nearest villages and towns.¹

The main interest of our visit to Bethlehem was the Consecration of a very pretty little stone church, well furnished throughout,

¹ The work of the original Brotherhood was taken over in 1902 by the Society of the Sacred Mission, and has been much developed.

designed and superintended by the Rev. A. S. Allum, the Deacon-in-charge, formerly an architect. Besides Canon Beckett, the Revs. F. R. T. Balfour of Basutoland,¹ and J. Widdicombe² of Thlotse Heights, a good many others were present, and with some strong musical voices, the singing, although entirely unaccompanied, was very good. The Church people in this little village have raised nearly all the money for building the Church—about £800—besides their handsome yearly offering for the support of their Deacon. We crossed on Oct. 10th, by moonlight, a difficult “drift” (or ford) of the Valsch River just before our entrance into Kroonstad. We had a man on horseback to guide us, and he knew the place, or else we should certainly have come to grief. At Kroonstad there are only three English-speaking members of the Church, but Wesleyans are numerous.

From Pretoria, now the seat of government since the annexation of the Transvaal by Sir T. Shepstone on April 12, the Metropolitan wrote on October 23 :

The Bishop of Bloemfontein and I are staying at Government House, Pretoria, though unfortunately Sir Theophilus Shepstone himself is away on the frontier, engaged in settling boundaries with the Zulus. The Transvaal, I think, has a great future before it. A very fine, productive, and in parts mountainous country, it is mostly well watered. Some hillsides dotted all over with trees, chiefly olives, mimosas, and wild almonds, look park-like, and remind me much of England. Near Rustenburg coffee and sugar-cane are grown, though at present only to a small extent. The gardens at Rustenburg, Potchefstroom and Pretoria abound in all kinds of fruit trees. But Pretoria is more of a town, and the ground is being built over far more rapidly than at either of the other places.

The land, as a whole, is an enormous undulating expanse of grass, short indeed now, but during the rains growing up to a great height. Capital country for grazing, especially for cattle.

Then the mineral resources of the country are wonderful. Gold, silver, lead, copper, coal are found, and a small quantity of diamonds. In one well-known mine, where there is a large amount of lead, there is said to be 40 per cent of silver. But money is dreadfully scarce, and everything is very dear. Pretoria has a good clergyman, the Rev. A. J. Law ; but the unconsecrated building serving as a Church is miserably small, and cannot accommodate a fourth of the people. To-night there will be a meeting, a kind of social reunion, at which Bishop Webb and I shall have to stir up the people to raise funds for a new building, making ourselves responsible for about £500, which the new Bishop will have to raise in England.

¹ Assistant Bishop of Bloemfontein, 1911.

² Canon of Bloemfontein, 1885.

We leave Pretoria towards the end of this week, and travel on very quickly to Maritzburg—making some 270 miles in the six days of next week. This is pretty good for a heavy waggon, and the same horses. But we have six, and they are in good condition.

We have given up the idea of going to the goldfields at Lydenburg, otherwise we should not be able to reach Maritzburg by November 8, when the Bishops are to meet in Synod.

The journey from Pretoria to Maritzburg was not accomplished without a full measure of those mishaps, which, according to President Brand's famous saying, "A journey without accidents is itself an accident," are, or were, of the essence of South African travelling. On the very first day, before reaching Heidelberg, one of the best horses fell sick, and had to be left behind in charge of a Basuto boy. Next day, between Heidelberg and Standerton, a wheel came off. Two days later, at the crossing of the Vaal River, the horses stuck in the drift, and subsequently refused to pull the waggon up a very steep ascent, so that a team of six oxen had to be brought to the rescue. Some hours later, another horse fell sick, though, happily, it had recovered before the following day, when the mountains between the Transvaal and the North of Natal were crossed, and all, travellers and horses alike, came into Newcastle dead tired about 6 P.M. Next day, Saturday, before reaching Ladysmith, two horses had to be left behind, and were brought on later at a walking pace, whilst the other four drew the waggon as far as Colenso. From Colenso early on Sunday morning the two Bishops went on into Estcourt where they were due for the Sunday Services. On Tuesday, the last day of their journey, Dr. Macrorie, Bishop of Maritzburg, met them at Howick and took them to see the celebrated Umgeni Falls, where a considerable volume of water pours into a pool encircled by rocks in a single cascade from a cliff 300 feet high, and "the broken country round adds greatly to the beauty of the scene." They arrived in the afternoon at Maritzburg, a town of 6000 inhabitants, which already had some good public buildings and is "very picturesquely situated within a ring of verdant hills."

The Metropolitan admired the dignified chancel and choir of St. Saviour's Cathedral and its beautiful font;

though he missed seeing the Dean, who was away in England. He also visited St. Anne's, the Diocesan School for Girls, and the small Diocesan College known as St. Andrew's. In the Episcopal Synod, which was the chief object of this visit to Maritzburg, certain grave questions connected with the Zululand Bishopric were considered and settled.

On November 14 the Metropolitan, the Bishop of Bloemfontein, and the Bishop of Maritzburg left early for Durban, and drove the whole distance of fifty miles, visiting on the way the Rev. James Walton, "the aged and devoted clergyman of Pinetown," and arriving in the evening at the Berea, "a low range of wooded hills running parallel to the coast." Here they stayed for the night, "in a house commanding two beautiful prospects—eastwards, over Durban, the bay, the bluff, and the sea ; and westwards, inland, over Sydenham, and towards Pinetown." Next day the Metropolitan laid the foundation-stone of the new church of St. Cyprian's, Durban, an event of some importance ; for at that time Durban was almost entirely in the hands of Bishop Colenso, although most of the people had very little sympathy with his theological views. After a meeting on the 16th to initiate a Mission amongst "the 12,000 Indians in the district, all, or nearly all, heathens for whom nothing has as yet been done," the Bishop of Bloemfontein left on the return journey to his own Diocese. In recording his departure the Metropolitan says :

I have been eight weeks in his company, and I feel the great blank his absence leaves. His noble character and his sound judgement have made him an unusually valuable companion. We have come, I think, to understand each other thoroughly, and are wonderfully well agreed on all the stirring matters of the day.

On Saturday, November 17, when the Bishop of Maritzburg consecrated the new church at the Umgeni Mouth, the Metropolitan preached the sermon, and the next day was the celebrant in the morning, and the preacher both morning and evening in St. Cyprian's, and in the afternoon addressed, through an interpreter, a Zulu congregation, chiefly heathen. In the last week of his stay at Durban he attended and spoke at a conversazione in the Masonic Hall, went over the Abergeni sugar mills, and paid a visit to Mr. Kennedy, a layman,

whose house was near the Zee Koe ("Hippopotamus") Lake, in which hippopotami were still frequently seen.

A delay in the sailing of his ship gave the Metropolitan one more Sunday in Durban, and on an intensely hot afternoon he drove over with the Bishop of Maritzburg to Even-song at Isipingo, where both Bishops preached short sermons.

Finally he sailed in the *Danube* on Tuesday the 27th; two days later took part in the eight days' Mission at Port Elizabeth; visited Uitenhage, "a town with fine water furrows through the streets, and well planted with trees"; and made an expedition to Grahamstown, travelling by railway as far as Alicedale, which was then the terminus, and going on thence by coach. Two miles from Grahamstown he was met by the Dean (Dr. F. H. Williams), the Archdeacon (the Ven. H. Master White), Dr. Ross, Principal of St. Andrew's College, the Rev. R. J. Mullins, Principal of the Kafir Institution and subsequently Canon, and others. Grahamstown struck him, as it still strikes any visitor, as remarkably beautiful, and, for a South African town, peculiarly English. The Cathedral, with its grand tower and spire, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, the three other churches—St. Bartholomew's, Christ Church, and the Mission Church of St. Philip,—the substantial houses, and the large English population, all contribute to this effect. In the absence of Dr. Merriman, Bishop of the Diocese, the Metropolitan, on Sunday, December 9, held an Ordination in the Cathedral. He left Grahamstown on December 12, reached Port Elizabeth in time for the concluding Services of the Mission, sailed on the 14th, and arrived at Capetown and Bishops court on December 16, after an absence of four months, during which he had journeyed 1000 miles by sea, at least 2000 miles by cart or waggon, scarcely 150 miles by train. Besides a considerable portion of his own Diocese, he had traversed a large part of four others, viz. Grahamstown, Bloemfontein, Maritzburg (or Natal), and the Transvaal, soon to be the new Diocese of Pretoria, and in each of the four he had given practical help and encouragement in many different ways.

CHAPTER XXI

A gloomy New Year, 1878—Laying of corner-stone of St. Paul's, Capetown—First return voyage to England—St. Helena and Ascension—Lambeth Conference—Marriage of the Metropolitan—Voyage to the Cape—Zulu War—Visitations of 1879.

THE beginning of 1878 was saddened by war in Kaffraria, on the eastern border of Cape Colony, and also by severe drought and impending famine in all the central region of the Colony, especially in the Beaufort West and Fraserburg districts. Over wide tracts of country no rain had fallen since February or April 1877, there were no signs of the drought breaking, and crops had failed utterly. Three or four months later there was still no rain, and matters were even more serious, *e.g.* one farmer had lost no less than 15,000 sheep; another had only 200 left out of 10,000; and others had saved only half, or less than half, their original flocks; while oxen had perished in such large numbers that meat had become excessively dear, and transport, for which oxen were so extensively used, extraordinarily costly, causing a great rise in the price of all kinds of food. Meanwhile, in the future loomed the dismal prospect of heavy taxation to defray the expenses of the war.

At Capetown one specially cheering event occurred in this dark time. On March 12, the congregation under the charge of the Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, Missionary Canon, met for the laying of the corner-stone of their new Church of St. Paul's. Those who know the neighbourhood and the powers of the south-east wind, will recognize the accuracy of a description given by an eye-witness of the ceremony :

We walked uphill to the site, in the face of a "South-Easter,"

which was blowing all the time ; and you know how one feels up there exposed to that wind ! An arch was erected at the entrance to what will, I think, be the vestry, and flags were flying. There was an immense crowd ; and you can imagine what sort of a crowd—very picturesque with so many different shades of colour, and with the bright dresses of the Malays. . . . One poor Malay woman asked that she might put into the collection a halfpenny—all she had ! . . . The Metropolitan gave a very appropriate address, saying what a pleasure it was to him, before he left for England, to lay the first stone of a church so long and earnestly desired. He mentioned that the poor people of the district had themselves collected nearly £1000.

A week afterwards the Metropolitan sailed from Cape-town with his sister on his first return voyage to the Mother-country. On the day of his departure, Tuesday, March 19, there were 160 communicants at the 7.30 A.M. celebration in the Cathedral. In the afternoon Sir Bartle and Lady Frere and their family, twenty of the clergy, the orphans from the Orphanage, the boys from Zonnebloem, and a great crowd of other persons, came down to the docks to bid him farewell. His ship, the *German*, touched at the rocky and picturesque island of St. Helena on March 25. Here he called on Mr. Noel Janisch, the Governor, and visited the Church of St. James, Jamestown, and two of the schools. He “enjoyed a good chat with the dear old Bishop,” who came down to Jamestown to meet him, and afterwards to the ship to see him off. Three days later he was at Ascension Island, and saw for the first time “its volcanic hills, the deposit of extinct volcanoes, and the hill called the ‘Green Mountain,’ which seems to have on one side of it all the vegetation of the island.” On April 11 he arrived at Southampton.

He attended most of the deliberations of the Lambeth Conference, though somewhat seriously ill both before and after. In August he had three delightful weeks in Switzerland with his sister, Miss Ellen Jones, and a niece, Miss F. Jackson, and during ten months in England he found time to visit, either on behalf of his own Diocese or of the S.P.G., no less than forty-three towns. Further invitations from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and numerous other English Bishops he was obliged to decline.

On January 16, 1879, in St. Peter's Church, Eaton Square, he married¹ Miss Emily Frances Allen, daughter of Mr. John Allen of Oldfield Hall, Altrincham, Cheshire, and sister of the Rev. John Allen, Hon. Canon of Manchester, who had been his friend and colleague at St. Matthew's, City Road.

Dr. Woodford, Bishop of Ely, another old and intimate friend, solemnized the marriage, and in a touching and eloquent address dwelt upon the beautiful thought contained in Eph. iii. 15, that the close bond of union in an earthly family represents, in its degree, the Perfect Union of the Ever Blessed Trinity. Then he passed on to speak of every earthly home as hallowed by the Incarnation and by the Holy Home of Nazareth, and he concluded by saying :

This new household is to be the chief homestead in that far land. God, Who in the early days of Christianity gave the North of Africa to the Church as her door of entrance into that vast Continent, and placed the keys in the hands of a Cyprian and an Augustine, is now again opening through the South an inlet for the Cross of Jesus, and has set this our brother as His watchman at the Southern gate. And thus his household stands there the foremost in the highway of our God. The sons of tribes, whose names are uncouth and strange to us, will (as in the days of his predecessor, now with God) sit down at his hearth. Christian travellers will halt here, as they voyage to and fro between East and West. Old missionaries, who have given their lives to Christ in the wilderness, and young converts, with the dew of their baptism fresh upon them, will hear reports, even if they visit it not, of the home of their Father in God—will drink in the tales of its Christian kindness, and gracious hospitality, and reverent worship, and of what "the Church in this house" is seen to be.

Noble language indeed, and yet, as the future proved, not in the least overstrained ; for there is evidence that no part of it went unfulfilled. "How gracious the hospitality of that house always is," said one guest, long years afterwards, of the haven of peace and rest he had so often found at Bishops court ; thus using, quite unconsciously, one of the very phrases of this wedding address. And another guest summed up his appreciation in the words,

¹ Three children were born of this marriage : William Allen Frere Jones, now Captain, R.F.A. ; Edward Bulkeley Jones, who died in infancy ; Charles Harold Jones, now Lieutenant, R.N.

“The Archbishop is my idea of kindness personified.” Still more interesting, perhaps, is the equally spontaneous testimony of a faithful servant who, besides her own grateful recollections of the homelike character of Bishopscourt, remembers the genial welcome the Metropolitan gave to a party of natives brought over from St. Columba’s Home, Capetown, by Father Puller ; and how with his own hands he helped to set the food upon the table, then said grace, told the boys to be sure to make a good meal, and put them entirely at their ease. “What a big heart,” she adds, “the Bishop had, and a thought for everybody.” In exercising such hospitality at home, and in ministering comfort to those in trouble or need, Mrs. West Jones, as the whole Diocese of Capetown knows, and many persons in different parts of the Province know also, through nearly thirty years took a constant yet unobtrusive part.

When the Metropolitan sailed again for Capetown in the *Dunrobin Castle* with Mrs. West Jones on March 7, the Rev. E. E. Holmes, of Clare College, Cambridge, and Lichfield Theological College, accompanied him as Chaplain, for the health of his former Chaplain, the Rev. C. H. Joberns, had given way, and he had returned to England, and the Rev. G. H. Swinny, who had succeeded him, was more than sufficiently occupied by the charge of Newlands coupled with his work as Chaplain. The ship was full of officers going to the front, for it was the time of the Zulu War, and only a few weeks had elapsed since the disaster of Isandhlwana on January 22, followed by that gallant defence of Rorke’s Drift by Lieutenants Chard and Bromehead,¹ which just saved Natal from the incursion of the triumphant Zulu army. On March 29 the *Dunrobin Castle* passed the *Spain* carrying troops to Natal, and narrowly escaped a collision with her. In May of this same year, only two months after the Metropolitan had landed at the Cape, came the sad news of the death of the Prince Imperial in Zululand, killed by an ambush of Zulus, whilst out with a reconnoitring party. Lord Chelmsford’s decisive victory on July 4 at Ulundi, followed by the capture of the Zulu king, Cetewayo, in August, ended the war.

¹ Both received promotion and the V.C.

The Metropolitan visited in June and July the parishes of Bredasdorp and Caledon, with their out-stations; and in August, September, and October the other parishes of Swellendam, Riversdale, Mossel Bay, George, Knysna, Plettenberg Bay, Uniondale, Willowmore, Oudtshoorn, Prince Albert, and Ceres.

CHAPTER XXII

Disaster at Bishops court, 1880—Adverse Judgement in Supreme Court *in re* travelling allowance—Sixth Capetown Diocesan Synod and title of Church of the Province—Birth of the Metropolitan's eldest son—An eventful August—*Merriman v. Williams* before the Supreme Court—Visitation of "The Bays" in Malmesbury Parish—Consecration of Abbotsdale Church and of St. Augustine's, O'okiep—Visit to two native locations at O'okiep.

A GRIEVOUS catastrophe occurred at Bishops court at the beginning of February 1880 through a piece of gross carelessness on the part of a builder and his men. Very extensive repairs were in progress on the roof of the house, the beams and rafters of which had not been touched for thirty years or more, and were rotten and unsafe. The Metropolitan himself was temporarily absent at Kalk Bay, when he received information one morning that the work was being carelessly carried out, and that the ceilings were being injured. He came up the same day in the afternoon. It happened to be Saturday, and the workmen were gone. But he found the roof almost entirely stripped of slates, hardly any corrugated iron yet substituted, and no tarpaulins over the vacant spaces. All the next day, Sunday, the barometer was falling, and at 3 A.M. on Monday morning the Metropolitan awoke and heard that heavy rain had begun. With Mr. Holmes, Mr. Swinny, and the servants he tried to collect furniture, ornaments, etc., by candlelight, and to put them in the only safe place, the servants' room. Everywhere else the rain was deluging the plaster ceilings upstairs. These everywhere began to crack and give way with loud reports, the water pouring down into many of the lower rooms. By 9 A.M. every ceiling, save one or two, had more or less collapsed. The slush and dire confusion

may be imagined. About 8 A.M. the workmen returned, and all Monday and Tuesday were occupied in assisting them to clear and clean the rooms, and then, when a temporary roof had been put on, to replace the books and furniture.

Disasters are proverbially said never to come singly ; and it must have seemed a justification of the saying, when, upon the top of this calamity, there came the very next day an adverse Judgement in the Supreme Court of the Colony in the matter of the Metropolitan's friendly action against the Government to recover for the five years last past the arrears of an allowance of £400 per annum for travelling expenses as Bishop, invariably made to his predecessor, the first Bishop of Capetown, but discontinued since his death without either notice or explanation. The Judgement seemed to the Archdeacon of the Cape, to Sir David Tennant, and to others unintelligible. But it was, of course, final and conclusive. It was the more disappointing because the Metropolitan, with characteristic generosity, had already proposed, in the event of the Court's decision being in his favour, to set apart £1000 for building a Synod Hall, Chapter House, and Diocesan Library ; to use £500 for the repairs at Bishops court ; and to reserve only the remaining £500 to recoup himself for the expenses of his very long and costly travels since his Consecration. All this design now fell through, and that at a time when the prospects of the Diocese generally were, financially and otherwise, particularly discouraging.

The Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Capetown, which met on St. Peter's Day, June 29, 1880, and lasted till July 16, was chiefly remarkable for a debate of some length on a motion that it was desirable to alter the name of the Church of the Province of South Africa, and to call it instead "the Church of England in South Africa." The debate ended in the carrying of the amendment, proposed by the Ven. H. Badnall, Archdeacon of the Cape, which still stands in the "Codified Edition of the Acts and Resolutions of the Synods of the Diocese of Capetown." It runs as follows :

This Synod, anxious to remove once for all, if possible, the discontent of certain Church members touching the official designation of our Church provided in our Canons, hereby affirms the Church of

this Diocese to be part of the English Church, so far as the laws of the Established Church of England are in the judgement of the Synod of this Province applicable to our condition in this land as an unestablished Voluntary Body ; and it further declares its conviction that the title of the "Church of the Province of South Africa," as laid down in the second of the preliminary resolutions of the Provincial Synod, is intended to carry, and does carry, no meaning at variance with the affirmation aforesaid.¹

This explicit and well-balanced statement served also as the dignified and only answer which the Synod made to the terms of a circular letter, placed, before the session began, in the hands of all its members, and intended to provoke discord.

Early in the morning of the last day of the Synod the Metropolitan's eldest son was born, and the congratulations the father received on appearing in Synod that day showed what a true place he had in the hearts of his people, and how they rejoiced with him in the joy of his home.

A few days later he brought up to lunch with him four of the clergy of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, who had landed at Capetown on their way to Zanzibar, and also a layman, an old Oxford friend of his own, who had joined the Mission, and who is now a well-known authority upon the languages of Central and South Central Africa, Mr. A. C. Madan, of Christ Church, Oxford. Amongst the four clerical members of this party were the Rev. Chauncy

¹ In a letter written to the *Guardian* in 1871, after deprecating an insinuation which had been recently made that "the Church of South Africa" had separated from the Church of England, Dr. Badnall had explained with admirable clearness the origin and signification of the full title.

"Unofficially," he said, "and in common parlance, we always speak of ourselves at the Cape as the English Church. Our only official title is the 'Church of the Province of South Africa.' This term was carefully chosen, whether wisely or unwisely, on purpose to mark that we regarded ourselves, and wished others to regard us, not as an independent Church, but simply as one Province, one organic portion, of the Anglican Communion, side by side with the Provinces of Canterbury, York, Armagh, Dublin, and the rest. If any further explanation is needed of the spirit in which this title was intended, we appeal to the Canons and Acts of our Provincial Synod" (*Guardian*, August 16, 1871, pp. 977, 978).

In the "Preliminary Resolutions" of the First Provincial Synod of 1870, in the preamble to the "Constitution," and since 1876 in the first Article of the Constitution itself, it is explained that the one official title is not entirely exclusive of other names, and that the "Church of the Province of South Africa" is "otherwise known as the Church of England, or the English Church, or Church of the Anglican Communion in these parts."

It should also be mentioned that "Church of South Africa" is convenient as a shortened form of the official title, and, as such, has the sanction of use in the Courts of Law, both Colonial and Imperial, and is in itself quite unobjectionable.

Maples, afterwards Bishop of Likoma, and the Rev. William Porter, afterwards Canon of Zanzibar.

On August 2 the Metropolitan attended a reception in Capetown in honour of Prince Henry of Prussia, a grandson of Queen Victoria, and younger brother of the present Kaiser. On the following day he appeared before the Supreme Court of the Colony to give evidence in the case *Merriman v. Williams*. Dr. Merriman, Bishop of Grahamstown, and the Ven. H. Master White, Archdeacon of Grahamstown, were likewise summoned as witnesses. The Metropolitan was also present during the arguments of counsel on the two succeeding days, and on August 26, when Judgement was delivered. A meeting of a few leading Churchmen was held immediately afterwards in the vestry of Capetown Cathedral to decide what line of action the Church ought now to take.

Next day he left for a visitation of Malmesbury, Abbotsdale, and the Mission stations along the coast of the Malmesbury parish. In his diary he says of these last :

There is to my mind a great charm about the simplicity of these people, and I always feel taken out of the common world, with its cares, its excitements, and its affectations, when I find myself among the fishing folk of Saldanha and St. Helena Bays. Their religion, if not ostentatious, is, I am sure, all the more real and true. I cannot wish any one a happier haven of rest, in which to spend a month or so, than on the shores of one of these beautiful bays.

It may be taken as an example of the practical character of the religion in these Missions that, during this visitation round, at a meeting of some twenty persons in an unfinished school-chapel at Small Paternoster Point, nearly all present entered their names for a subscription of ten shillings apiece, and a sufficient amount was promised to complete the building. Also "one good fellow promised to burn all the lime we should need—30 bags—and to give it. This alone is worth £7 or £8."

The several visitations of this year and the next were marked by the consecration of new churches, which had sprung up under the impulse given in the first years of his episcopate. Two of these may be mentioned—one at Abbotsdale, another at O'okiep.

The Abbotsdale Mission dates from 1854. Its first building was a wooden shed, used both for school and for church, with seats made of planks supported on bricks. This shed was superseded after a time by two schoolrooms, in one of which the Services were held. Then was built the first church, which was swept away by a flood in 1869. In 1876 the people of the Mission made a fresh start, and were busy quarrying stone and burning brick, giving all their labour without payment; and, on November 27 in that year, Miss J. A. Jones, the Metropolitan's sister, laid the foundation-stone of the second church, which, four years later, September 8, 1880, was consecrated by her brother in the presence of a large assembly of people from Malmesbury and from all the country round about. Too many, indeed, came for all to find entrance into the little church at the Consecration Service itself; and afterwards no building was capacious enough to receive such a throng for dinner, so the majority scattered about in picnic fashion in the adjoining fields.

The church at O'okiep was consecrated two months later on Sunday, November 4.

"The principal event of my visit to Namaqualand," writes the Metropolitan, "was the Consecration of St. Augustine's, O'okiep. It is a handsome little church in the Norman style, with an apse containing five windows, all of them filled with good stained glass, made by Horwood of Frome, and presented by different persons. Two were given by Mr. Morris' old friends at Dover, from which place he came. At the evening Service on Sunday, and at the Confirmation on Monday, a large party of Cornish Wesleyans from the copper mines were present, and with them their minister, who was a model of reverent behaviour. Mr. Morris is, of course, intensely happy at the completion of his undertaking, and the greatest praise is due to him for the patience and energy with which he has gone about it. The whole has cost about £1300, and there is a debt of only £130."

Whilst visiting Springbokfontein, six miles from O'okiep, the Metropolitan stayed with Colonel J. T. Eustace, the Civil Commissioner.

"It is always a pleasure," he writes, "to meet Colonel Eustace. He is wonderfully well informed, and having been quite lately Commissioner amongst the Gaikas, has a great deal to say about them and about the state of the frontier."

The allusion is to the recent news of a rising of the Pondomise in Kaffraria, and of the murder of Mr. Hope, the magistrate of the Qumbu district. There were at this time at O'okiep itself four locations for natives engaged in work on the copper mines. In one of these were Gaikas from Kaffraria ; in another Tongas from the east coast, north of Zululand ; in two others, Namaquas and Damaras, from the west coast tribes north of the Orange River. The Metropolitan visited the Gaika and the Tonga locations, and says :

The Tongas seemed unimpressible. But that was natural, for the interpreter, himself a Tonga, only very imperfectly understood me, and was evidently unable to express what little he did understand. The Gaikas were more enthusiastic. The object of my visit was to ascertain whether there was any disposition among either to welcome a Christian teacher should I be able to find one to live among them. The Tongas were indifferent ; but the Gaikas readily and heartily assented, and some of them said, "It would be the best thing that could happen to us." There is, I think, a better chance of influencing them, while they are among Europeans and engaged in regular industry, than in their own homes amid all their heathen surroundings. But at present they are quite uncivilized.

CHAPTER XXIII

Consecration of Douglas McKenzie, Bishop of Zululand, and dedication of nave of Claremont Church, 1880—Departure of Rev. G. H. Swinny—Mission at Isandhlwana—Troubles of 1881: rebellion in Kaffraria, civil war in Basutoland, effects of Boer War on the Diocese of Pretoria—Visit of the "Detached Squadron" with T.R.H. Prince Edward and Prince George.

AT the end of November 1880 the Bishops of the Province met at Capetown, and on the 30th, St. Andrew's Day, the Ven. Douglas McKenzie, Archdeacon of Harrismith, was consecrated¹ to the Missionary Bishopric of Zululand, vacant ever since the resignation of Dr. T. E. Wilkinson in 1875. Four days later, on December 4, the nave of Claremont Church, which had been enlarged as a memorial to the first Bishop of Capetown, was reopened.

"The church," writes the Metropolitan, "looks very well with its long, beautiful, and lofty nave, and the Services seemed to carry us back to a dedication festival in some fine church in England."

Of the newly-consecrated Bishop he says :

We all like him immensely, and the more we know him, the better we like him. Indeed there is only one opinion among us, that he is the very man we needed. And his wife is a true helpmeet for him. . . . They are carrying away Swinny² from me ! I

¹ The Bishops assisting the Metropolitan were : Maritzburg (Macrorie), Bloemfontein (Webb), Grahamstown (Merriman), Pretoria (Bousfield).

² George Hervey Swinny, son of the second Principal of Cuddesdon College, and Chaplain to the Metropolitan, 1878-1880, became Priest-in-charge of Kwamagwaza, Zululand, married Edith Maria McKenzie, the Bishop of Zululand's sister, and with her, in May 1884, joined the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. He died at Bandawe on Lake Nyasa, February 13, 1887, and Mrs. Swinny followed him and their infant child on May 31, 1888. Of a singularly saintly and guileless character, he has left a sweet and honoured memory both in South and in Central Africa. Miss Anderson-Morshead in her *History of the Universities' Mission*, p. 158 (ed. 1909), thus records his peaceful end :

"G. H. Swinny's pure soul passed away calmly on Sexagesima Sunday. Just before his death, looking straight up with wide-open eyes, he said, 'There is the land we have so long desired. All our loved ones are there.' He was laid in the burying-ground at Bandawe, the first of the Mission to rest on the western shore of the Lake."

am very sorry to lose him; but he had long resolved to devote himself to real missionary work, and I could not wish him to be with a better man than with the new Bishop of Zululand.

During the long vacancy, the Zululand Diocese had been placed by the Metropolitan under the charge of the Bishop of Maritzburg. But he himself had maintained a lively personal interest in it, and, after the conclusion of the Zulu War in 1879, he had pressed upon the S.P.G. the expediency of supporting a Mission at Isandhlwana, the scene of the disaster on January 22 in that year. In his communications with the Society he argued that the planting of a Mission upon that very spot would be a kind of holy revenge, truly Christian in its spirit. And, when it was still uncertain how long the vacancy in the See of Zululand might continue, he wrote to the Bishop of Maritzburg :

I feel that the Isandhlwana station, as a real Zulu Mission field, would be *the* place for the future Chief Missionary, especially as, if he should not know the language, he would have Johnson and Samuelson¹ to help him. I should be glad to have your opinion on this point.

And to the Secretary of the S.P.G. he said of the native chief, who would henceforth rule the district which included Isandhlwana :

Hlubi is an old Basuto chief, for many years settled with his tribe in Natal, where he was under the influence of Christian Missions, and he has now been rewarded for his fidelity by a grant of one of the new territories in Zululand. He has asked for his old Missionary, a layman, Mr. Johnson,² to be sent to him. The Bishop of Maritzburg has acceded to his wish, and now in company with Archdeacon Usherwood has held a funeral service on the field

¹ The Rev. Sivert Martin Samuelson, a Norwegian, Deacon, 1861, Priest, 1871, had founded in 1865 the Mission of St. Paul's. In 1868, during a persecution instigated by Cetewayo, he successfully hid a convert of his, named Umfezi, who was the son of a great man, behind the calico of the Mission House ceiling. "When the search was over, Mr. Samuelson sat down to his harmonium, and played and sang the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in Zulu. 'The chiefs became so transported,' wrote Mr. Samuelson, 'that they swore by their King that we Missionaries are the only kings on earth.' After the impi had gone Mr. Samuelson took Umfezi by night, and giving him the only upper coat he possessed, sent him to Natal for safety." (*Digest of S.P.G. Records*, 6th ed., p. 338.) Recently, in 1877, when Zululand had been "like a hive of bees swarming," Samuelson had been one of the very last to seek a place of safety.

² Now Archdeacon and Priest-in-charge of St. Augustine's, a large missionary centre, twelve miles from Isandhlwana. A little after this time, when the first school-chapel at St. Augustine's was about to be built, 130 of Hlubi's men offered spontaneously to give 30s. apiece towards it.

of Isandhlwana itself. Hlubi and fifteen of his headmen were present. Offerings were made on the spot for the building of a Church, and a cross has been set up to mark the exact place, close to which the new Church is to be built. No time, I think, should be lost in pushing the matter forward. . . . Everything—School, Church, and Priest—has to be provided.

The opening days of 1881 were overcast with many dark and threatening clouds. The Metropolitan preached in Capetown Cathedral on the first Sunday in the new year on the words "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength," and drew from them that reassuring lesson of God's overruling Providence, which the Church in South Africa has so often had to set herself to learn. The time was indeed one of trouble on all sides. The Diocese of Zululand had only lately been freed from the scourge of war, and now three other Dioceses were directly and simultaneously involved in similar dangers and anxieties: St. John's by the rebellion in Kaffraria; Bloemfontein by civil war amongst the native tribes in Basutoland; and Pretoria by the Boer War in the Transvaal, which was also causing dangerous political unrest in the southern Dioceses of Capetown and Grahamstown. Dr. Callaway, Bishop of St. John's, had gone to England in seriously broken health before the rebellion in Kaffraria had begun, and to him the Metropolitan had written on December 14 :

You must have been terribly cast down by the news which the last six or seven mails have brought you, the misery and ruin, which have been over-running your Diocese, the danger of your converts, your Clergy, and your people, the destruction of so many of your Mission stations, and the deaths of Mr. Hope and others. It is, indeed, a wretched and a saddening time, and one cannot see the end of it. Everything looks dark and gloomy; and the force at our command seems scarcely able to hold its own, far less, as yet, to reduce the rebellious tribes to subjection. Poor Mr. Key¹ heard, I think at Madeira, the sad news, and he has hurried on to see what can be done to collect his people, and to assist in the restoration of order.

Even at the end of March, when the sudden declaration

¹ The Rev. Bransby Lewis Key, afterwards Coadjutor-Bishop (1883) to Dr. Callaway, whom he succeeded as Bishop of St. John's in 1886. His own house at his Mission station of St. Augustine's, Inxu, was amongst those destroyed at this time.

of peace terminated the Boer War, just when a large army was ready to retrieve the disaster of Majuba on February 27,¹ there followed in the Transvaal specially, though not in the Transvaal alone, a time of great tension and difficulty. Anti-English feeling ran high, large numbers of English colonists found their position intolerable and left the Transvaal, and the Bishop of Pretoria himself took a very gloomy and despondent view of the situation as regarded the very existence of the English Church in his Diocese. But the Metropolitan encouraged him by saying that even if this exodus should continue till hardly a single Englishman was left, then "the Diocese of Pretoria would only become more decidedly a Missionary Diocese, and seeing that the Dutch Church is in no way a Missionary Body,² our duty, as a Church, seems all the more distinct, to preach among the myriads of natives the Gospel of our Master."

Meanwhile, at the end of February, the five vessels of the "Detached Squadron" had arrived at Simonstown under the command of Rear-Admiral Lord Clanwilliam³ in his flagship the *Inconstant*. One of the other vessels was the *Bacchante*, on board which were the two young Princes, Prince Edward,⁴ afterwards Duke of Clarence, and Prince George, now H.M. the King. Whilst the Squadron lay in harbour the Metropolitan went down to Simonstown, called upon the Admiral and visited the *Bacchante*, but did not see the Princes, who happened to be away on leave. On Sunday, March 6, he went to preach on board the vessel, which had meanwhile come round to Capetown, and he was much pleased by the heartiness of the singing and of the responses at this Service. He lunched afterwards on the ship with the Commander, Captain Hill, and with the two Princes, and before his departure he went to say good-bye to them in their own simple and unpretentious cabin.

¹ The Metropolitan, writing next day, said, "I knew only four of the officers, General Colley, Colonel Deane, Major Poole, and Captain Greer; and they are all killed." Another cause for sorrow later in this year was the wreck of the *Teuton* in September, when 227 out of 263 persons on board were drowned, amongst them two young Miss Moxleys, who had called at Bishops court on the previous day, and a Mr. Driver from Warminster, where one of the Metropolitan's brothers was then living.

² Happily this is not so much the case now as formerly.

³ Richard James Meade, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., fourth Earl of Clanwilliam, born 1832, died 1907.

⁴ Prince Albert Victor Christian Edward, died January 14, 1892.

CHAPTER XXIV

The House of Mercy at Leliebloom, 1881-1888—The Mission to Moslems in Capetown under Dr. Camilleri, Dr. Arnold, and the Cowley Fathers successively, 1848-1911.

IN the last months of 1881 the Metropolitan was hard at work in a personal canvass in Capetown for subscriptions towards the long-needed House of Mercy. The Home for Penitents in New Street, a house that was part of the original buildings taken over by the All Saints' Sisterhood, was wholly inadequate, and stood amid very unsuitable surroundings. But in those days of wars, rumours of wars, and political unrest it was no easy matter to raise a sum of several thousand pounds, particularly as many persons in the Capetown Diocese had recently subscribed to the heavy expenses of the "Grahamstown Case." In 1885, however, one of the Cowley Fathers,¹ with the full consent of his Superior, transferred to the fund for the House of Mercy a sum of £3000, the entire amount lately inherited under his father's will. This noble gift smoothed the way, and the rest of the £8510, the total cost of the building and the site, was gradually raised by dint of prolonged and unremitting toil extending over nearly seven years. The Metropolitan himself gave £500, and collected another £100 amongst his friends at home. But, even after the work of construction had begun, the Committee were often in straits for want of money; and, on one occasion, a remittance of over three hundred pounds, gathered together in England and sent out by one of the Metropolitan's sisters, arrived most opportunely, when a large payment was due to

¹ The Rev. F. W. Puller, S.S.J.E.

the builders on the following Friday, and nothing was in hand wherewith to meet it. More than six whole years had gone by before the fine building, known as the "House of Mercy" or "Leliebloem," was complete. It stands on the slope of Table Mountain high above Woodstock, with a grand view of the sea below. Joyful indeed was the day (February 11, 1888) and full of thanksgiving, when it was at length opened for that true work of Christ, the rescue of the lost.

Mention has already been made of the Mission to the Moslems of Capetown, and here a short account may be given of its chequered history. It originated as long ago as 1848, under Robert Gray, the first Bishop of Capetown. At his invitation Dr. M. A. Camilleri, of the University of Malta, a good linguist, a Maltese by birth, and formerly a Roman Catholic, came out for this special work. At first Dr. Camilleri was very successful; but after his departure to England in 1854, little direct effort¹ was made till 1871, when the Bishop wrote to Father Benson, founder of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, inquiring whether he could send some of the Cowley Brotherhood to renew the Mission. Unfortunately Father Benson was compelled to reply, with much regret, that as the Society was just beginning work in America and India, he had no men to spare, as yet, for such an enterprise; and though the Bishop never ceased to hope that the Mission might be renewed in his own lifetime, this hope was never fulfilled.

The next event was the arrival, in 1875, of Dr. J. M. Arnold, of whom, a few months later, the new Metropolitan wrote:

I am very much cheered by the way in which that excellent Dr. Arnold has set about his work. He is a fine old man, full of energy and self-denial. He is now in charge of Papendorp, a very dreary suburb of Capetown along the shore of Table Bay, with a population largely of fishermen and other poor folk, many of them

¹ It should be noted, however, that the Ven. T. F. Lightfoot, Missionary Canon and Archdeacon of the Cape, during his long ministry in Capetown, 1858-1904, and working through his own coloured congregation, influenced and won many Moslems, particularly by his unselfish devotion in the smallpox epidemics of 1858 and 1882. See also his own interesting account of the Cape Malays in *Sketches of Church Life and Work in the Diocese of Capetown*, ed. by A. G. S. Gibson (Bishop), Capetown, 1900.

Malays, and nearly all living almost as heathens. There are a few, but very few, of a better class. . . . The Church is crowded every Sunday, and his simple earnest preaching is working wonders. Already he has baptized a large number of adults, several of them Malays. Work amongst Moslems is indeed his special forte, and he finds ample material in, and near, his parish. It is an understood thing among the clergy that he is to have free access to the Malays in any of the parishes round, and it is a great source of joy to me that he has already won some, and is winning more. God bless his labours abundantly !

Anxious, however, from the outset that this Mission should not depend on the unaided energies of one man, the Metropolitan strenuously exerted himself, whilst on his first visit to England in 1878 to 1879, to raise a sum of £5000 to provide an annual income of £350 to support Dr. Arnold and an Assistant Priest or Deacon. Bitter indeed was his disappointment that he could gather only £1670 of this amount, and that people in England seemed cold and dead to his appeal, although, as he wrote on his return voyage, "the plainest and most evident pathway for Mission work, which God is opening out for us at this time, is among the Mohammedan Malays in and near Capetown. Something is stirring their hearts to inquire about Christianity, to look with regard on Christian teachers, and even to send their children for instruction to certain of our missionaries."

Meanwhile Dr. Arnold's parochial work was growing fast, both at Papendorp itself, where the new chancel of what is now St. Mary's, Woodstock, was consecrated on St. Thomas's Day, December 21, 1880, and in the outlying district of Salt River, where a school-chapel was built during the next year. With the energetic assistance of the Rev. M. Hare, who came out at the beginning of 1880, Dr. Arnold worked on for a time as well as he could ; but after Dr. Arnold's death on December 9, 1881, the Mission to Moslems for a time lapsed entirely.

Still the Metropolitan himself always looked forward to a recommencement in the near future. His plan now was to revive the scheme of his predecessor, the first Bishop of Capetown, and to place this special Mission in the hands of the Cowley Fathers. With this object in view, he applied to Father Benson, who sent out Father Puller on a three

months' visit. Father Puller landed at Capetown on May 4, 1883. Before his three months had expired, he received permission to stay on, and early in November the Metropolitan wrote again, asking that another Father might be sent out, and when this request was also granted, he defined the work to be committed to them as fourfold :

- (1) "The charge of St. George's (afterwards All Saints') Home and its various works."
- (2) Mission work amongst coloured people, in a district taken out of Papendorp and St. Mark's, Capetown, and containing from 150 to 200 houses.
- (3) Mission work amongst natives of Bantu race.
- (4) Mission work amongst "Malays (or Moslems) throughout, and in the neighbourhood of, Capetown."

Father Puller was convinced from the first that little could be achieved amongst Moslems, except by those who could devote themselves solely to this special work, whereas he and his colleague, Father Sheppard, found themselves fully occupied with the other three departments assigned to them. Two considerable and earnest attempts, however, were actually made, under the superintendence of the Cowley Fathers, to resume the Mission to Moslems.

First, the Rev. W. U. Watkins volunteered in 1887 for this special work, and only relinquished it on his appointment in 1890 as Chaplain to the lepers and others on Robben Island. Again, for seven years, from 1896 to 1903, Miss Edith Pellatt, a fully qualified lady doctor, worked as a Medical Missionary amongst the Moslem women, and won on all sides their respect and affection by her skill and her kindness, though making no secret of her desire to bring them to know the Love of Christ, Who gave Himself for them. But her health began to fail, and incipient blindness, which eventually became total, obliged her to lay down the work to which she had given herself with such whole-hearted devotion.

Then for eight long years, from 1903 onwards, the special Mission to Moslems ceased to exist, although it has never been an uncommon thing for some few to be drawn

to Christ here and there in the different parishes, and in the ordinary course of parochial work, more particularly in the district attached to St. Paul's, Capetown. But the year 1911 has seen a revival of this labour of love for Christ and for the souls of men. And now once again, with all the experience of the past to guide and inform it, the Moslem Mission has been begun afresh on somewhat different lines.

PART III.—CHAPTERS XXV.—XXXV.

1847-1910

THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE

“In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.”

“The South African Church has had a short but noble history. Both in doctrine and in morality she has stood not for popularity but for the Supremacy and the Crown Rights of Jesus Christ.”—Sermon in St. John’s College Chapel, Oxford, May 24, 1908, by Leighton Pullan, Fellow of St. John’s College.

SYNOPSIS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE

I. Synodical Self-government in the Church of South Africa, as developed by necessity and encouraged by legal decisions, 1847-1870.—CH. XXV.

II. "The Grahamstown Case": *Merriman v. Williams*, 1879-1882.—CH. XXVI.

(a) In the Diocesan Court of Grahamstown, 1879.

(b) In the Supreme Court of Cape Colony, 1880.

(c) Before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 1882.

Appendix on the first two Articles of the Constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa, including the Third Proviso.

III. After the "Grahamstown Judgement" of the Judicial Committee.

1. In England, from the beginning of July to the end of November 1882.—CH. XXVII.

2. In the Provincial Synod of 1883.—CH. XXVIII.

3. In the Grahamstown Diocese, 1882 to 1885.—CH. XXIX.

4. In the Capetown Diocese, 1883 to 1891.—CHS. XXX.—XXXIII.

(a) Diocesan Synod of 1884.—CH. XXX.

(b) Anti-Proviso Agitation, 1884 to 1885.—CH. XXXI.

(c) Case of Trinity Church, Capetown, 1886.—CH. XXXII.

(d) Diocesan Synods of 1887 and 1891.—CH. XXXIII.

IV. The Troubles in the Diocese of Natal.

1. First Period : From 1863 to 1883.—CH. XXXIV.

2. Second Period : From 1883 to 1910.—CH. XXXV.

THE METROPOLITAN AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE

EVEN in the earliest years of his Episcopate, as the foregoing chapters have shown, the second Metropolitan of South Africa was not wholly exempt from troubles which were due to the fact that some denied the existence of any true union between the Church of the Province and the Church of England.

But the "Grahamstown Judgement" of 1882 was the signal for the renewal of the old controversy in a much more complicated form. Three Dioceses, Grahamstown, Capetown, and Natal, were now specially involved in it; and of the three the Metropolitan's own Diocese of Capetown had by no means the smallest conflict. Moreover, as head of the Province, and as the official superior, as well as the personal friend and counsellor of their successive Bishops, he shared deeply in the particular anxieties and difficulties of each of the other two Sees. Though always ready to welcome and to advocate any legitimate concession, he was nevertheless quick to discern principles, and unflinching in defence of them; and when, at length, nearly two years after his death, the internal reunion of the much-tried Diocese of Natal was completed by the settlement of the trusteeship of the Church properties, this happy conclusion was reached on the very lines of the policy, ever firm and definite, but ever kind and conciliatory, of his thirty-four years' rule as Metropolitan.

The long story of the Constitutional Struggle must now be told in a consecutive form. It falls into four main divisions, of which the first describes the origin and organization of the Self-government of the Church in South Africa,

and the other three the perils through which the Church's freedom has been preserved undiminished.

But it may be first noted here, that the consistent and successful assertion by the Church in South Africa of her reasonable liberty in things spiritual has had two important results, over and beyond the vindication of her own position, as free and self-governing, yet in perfect unity with the Mother Church of England. First, the other Churches, or Provinces, of the Anglican Communion outside England are now able to obtain, without any such serious crises as those through which the Church in South Africa had to pass, a like liberty from secular interference in things sacred. And secondly, even the Church of England in England itself stands all the stronger to-day, and the more secure in her spiritual rights, since the claim made by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in their "Grahamstown Judgement," that their decisions are part and parcel of the Doctrine of the Church of England, has been discredited and tacitly withdrawn.

CHAPTER XXV

Synodical Self-government in the Church of South Africa, as developed by necessity, and encouraged by legal decisions, 1847-1870.

THE Church in South Africa has often been accused of deliberately seeking for herself a position of independence and of separation from the Mother Church of England. Such a statement is absolutely untrue, for she has always displayed a peculiarly filial and devoted spirit towards the Mother Church, and has clung more closely to her than, perhaps, any other daughter Church in the Colonies. But in a new country, where climate, customs, and circumstances are all different, and where even the law of the land is not the same,¹ it was not possible, even had it been desirable, that every detail connected with the Church should be a precise and exact copy, and reproduction, of things in the old country. Sheer necessity compelled the provision of some new machinery for local Church government. For in England, whatever other defects there might be, there was, at least, a network of Dioceses and Parishes covering the whole land. There were large numbers of churches and schools ; there were endowments ; there was all the machinery provided by ancient law and immemorial custom. In South Africa, a country many times as large as Great Britain, there was nothing of all this, or next to nothing. When the first Bishop, Robert Gray, consecrated June 29, 1847, landed at Capetown on February 20, 1848, he had a staff of Clergy which, even when Military Chaplains were included, numbered not more than fourteen all told, in the whole huge area of South Africa. There were ten or eleven churches in Cape

¹ According to the terms on which the British took over the Government of the Cape of Good Hope in 1806, the continuance of Dutch law (Romano-Justinian) was guaranteed,

Colony, and none elsewhere on the mainland ; though there were two churches and two other chaplains in the distant island of St. Helena, nearly 2000 miles away in the South Atlantic. But vast enough in itself as his Diocese was, beyond it there were still vaster regions appealing to the missionary enterprise of the English Church, both south of the Zambesi and also north of that river, for the "Universities' Mission to Central Africa" was not yet founded.¹ Again, up the east coast, there was the huge island of Madagascar, where there had never yet been any Bishop or Mission of the English Church.² But mere vastness of geographical space, and the paucity of clergy and of church buildings were not the only difficulties and drawbacks. The absence of any parochial organization, worthy of the name, was another. Eight or nine "Church Ordinances" on the statute book of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope had created some feeble semblance of English parishes in eight or nine places, and that was all. Of Diocesan organization there was absolutely none.

To remedy this state of things, the Bishop of Capetown had two plans. First, the subdivision of the enormous territorial area into Dioceses of reasonable size ; and, secondly, the revival of the ancient Synod, as the Church's legislative and governing body.

His first plan began to be realized in 1853, when the

¹ The "Universities' Mission" owes its origin hardly less to the first Bishop of Capetown than to Dr. Livingstone himself. When the Bishop came to Cambridge, the enthusiasm aroused by Dr. Livingstone's great lecture in the Senate House on December 4, 1857, had quite passed away, and nothing at all was being done. The Bishop of Capetown on November 1 and November 3, 1858, at Cambridge, and on May 17 of the next year at Oxford, became the prophet of a revival. To him it was given, in the order of God's Providence, "to stir up the dying embers of the zeal which had been kindled by Dr. Livingstone's burning words in the two Universities" (*Col. Ch. Chron.*, 1860). He offered at once to transfer to the new Mission all the money that might be collected in Cambridge for his own Diocese. At the two Cambridge meetings he named the Archdeacon of Maritzburg, Charles Frederick Mackenzie, as the man most fit to be the Bishop and leader. And he with his suffragans, the Bishops of Natal (Colenso) and St. Helena (Claughton), consecrated Mackenzie in Capetown Cathedral on January 1, 1861, the Feast of the Circumcision, as the first Bishop of the Zambesi Missionary Bishopric. In 1864, under its second Bishop, William George Tozer (consecrated February 2, 1863, to succeed Mackenzie, who had died of fever on the Shiré River, January 31, 1862), the headquarters of what was now called the "Universities' Mission to Central Africa" were moved to Zanzibar. And although its first two Bishops had taken the oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop of Capetown as their Metropolitan, and the original Mission had been sent forth from South Africa, yet in 1870 the first Synod of the Province of South Africa recognized it as now altogether independent of that Province.

² The Bishop of Capetown pressed the S.P.G. in 1861 to found a Mission in Madagascar with a Bishop at its head. The S.P.G. Mission was begun in 1864, and two years earlier a C.M.S. Mission. But Madagascar remained a part of the Diocese of Mauritius, and was given no Bishop of its own until 1874.

extent of his original Diocese was diminished by the formation of the two new Dioceses, Grahamstown and Natal. Thenceforth South Africa became an Ecclesiastical Province of three Dioceses with Capetown as its Metropolitan See, the Bishops-Elect of Grahamstown (Armstrong) and Natal (Colenso) taking before their Consecration the Oath of due Obedience to the Bishop of Capetown as their Metropolitan.

The next step was in 1859, when the island of St. Helena, with the lesser islands of Ascension to the north-west, and Tristan da Cunha to the south, was constituted a separate Bishopric. To these new Bishoprics were added, first, in 1863, that of the Orange Free State, afterwards known by the name of Bloemfontein; and then, in 1870, a Missionary Bishopric of Zululand; and lastly, a Bishopric of Independent Kaffraria, afterwards known by the name of St. John's. But Henry Callaway, first Bishop of St. John's, was not consecrated till November 1, 1873, more than a year after the death of Robert Gray, and during the long vacancy which ensued in the See of Capetown. Yet even this sevenfold partition of his original Diocese does not entirely exhaust the account of what the first Metropolitan achieved in the multiplication of Bishoprics in the Province. For in 1911 the Diocese of George was duly constituted by a further division of the Diocese of Capetown,¹ in compliance with the explicit directions he had left, that the moneys collected by him to provide an income for the Bishop of Maritzburg should be so used whenever the old endowments for the See of Natal should again become available for the support of an orthodox Bishop in Natal.

His second plan, the revival of the Synodical government of the Church, was also fully carried out.

A Bishop legislating by a Synod, which represents the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese, is in the position of a Constitutional Sovereign legislating by a Parliament, which represents the people of his realm. A Bishop without a Synod, like a Monarch without a Parliament, has necessarily a more despotic power. Obviously, therefore, the Bishop of Capetown never could have had the notion, sometimes

¹ A portion of the Diocese of Grahamstown was also included in the new Diocese of George.

ignorantly ascribed to him, of creating a Synod to serve as the instrument of an autocracy.

His aim was, from the first, exactly the contrary. He wished his Clergy and Laity, as he himself stated in the Pastoral Letter issued before the Synod of 1857, to share his power with him, and to take part in the responsibility of the many momentous decisions which had to be made. As early, therefore, as August 2 and October 12, 1848, in the very year of his landing in South Africa, he held meetings of the Clergy, first of the Western, and then of the Eastern Province of Cape Colony, for common counsel; and in 1850 he assembled the Clergy of his whole Diocese, thirty-seven in number, in another "Synodical Meeting," which passed important resolutions on matters laid before them. In 1856, after consultation with his Chapter, and with others both of the Clergy and of the Laity, he determined that the time had come to summon a regular Synod of the Diocese. It met in 1857, and was composed of all the Clergy in the Diocese in Priests' Orders (Deacons being also authorized to attend, and to speak, but not to vote), and of Lay Representatives who were elected by the several parishes or congregations, one for each parish or congregation, except that of the Cathedral, which had the privilege of sending two. In some quarters the Diocesan Synod met with opposition; and, in particular, the incumbent of Mowbray, the Rev. William Long, refused to attend himself, or even to give notice to his parishioners, to invite them to elect a representative for the parish. In 1860, on being required to give notice of another Synod, to be held in 1861, he repeated this refusal, and in the *Cape Monitor* charged the Bishop, the Clergy, and the Laity, who had taken part in the Synod of 1857, with having "seceded from the English Church." Proceedings were now taken against him, and eventually, on a question of property, the case came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who on June 24, 1863, delivered Judgement in *Long v. The Bishop of Capetown*, or, as it was popularly known, "the Long Case."

The full story may be read elsewhere.¹ But two

¹ See *Life of R. Gray, Bishop of Capetown*, by the Rev. C. Gray, vol. i. pp. 472 ff.; and vol. ii. p. 577 (Appendix I.), where the Judgement is given in full.

principles laid down in this Judgement were of much greater and more lasting importance than the matters actually adjudicated upon at the time.

The first principle was, that in a Colony which has been granted legislative institutions of its own, such Royal Letters-Patent as purport to appoint Bishops with coercive jurisdiction similar to that of Bishops in England are *ultra vires*.¹ The second Letters-Patent, therefore, which Dr. Gray had received as Metropolitan in 1853, after the grant of legislative institutions to the Cape of Good Hope in 1850, were invalid in this respect.

The second principle laid down, concerned the status of the Church in any Colony, and is best given at length in the very words of the Judgement :

The Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body—in no better, but in no worse position ; and the members may adopt, as the members of any other communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body which will be binding on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them.

It may be further laid down that where any religious or other lawful association has not only agreed on the terms of its union, but has also constituted a tribunal to determine whether the rules of the association have been violated by any of its members or not, and what shall be the consequence of such violation, the decision of such tribunal will be binding when it has acted within the scope of its authority, has observed such forms as the rules require, if any forms be prescribed, and, if not, has proceeded in a manner consonant with the principles of justice.

In such cases the tribunals so constituted are not in any sense courts² ; they derive no authority from the Crown ; they have no power of their own to enforce their sentences ; they must apply for that purpose to the courts established by law, and such courts will give effect to their decision, as they give effect to the decisions of arbitrators, whose jurisdiction rests entirely upon the agreement of the parties.³

This pronouncement practically amounted, on the one hand, to advice to the members of the English Church in

¹ In the case known as "*In Re The Bishop of Natal*," the Judicial Committee, in their Judgement of March 20, 1865, reiterated this principle, and enlarged upon it. See p. 213.

² That is, not "Courts" in the *legal* sense of the word, as explained in the clauses which follow.

³ Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Law*, 2nd ed. vol. ii. p. 1783.

South Africa to perfect their organization upon the lines of a voluntary religious association, and, on the other, to a pledge that the Civil Courts, under these, but under no other, conditions, could and would recognize the Church as a corporate body. In particular, as will be observed, special encouragement was offered to the formation of Church tribunals, the decisions of which would be enforced "on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them."

The natural effect, therefore, of the Judgement was to give an impetus to the evolution of that Synodical Government of the Church which had already begun, and to cause special attention to be paid to the careful elaboration of a system of Church tribunals or Church Courts.

Diocesan Synods had already met in the Diocese of Capetown,¹ and in the Diocese of Grahamstown.² In this very year, 1863, on December 15, the Bishops of the Province assembled for the first time in Episcopal Synod,³ and they met again in Synod, for the second time, on January 27, 1869. But the culminating point of Synodical organization was reached in 1870. In that year, at the end of January, the First Provincial Synod was convened at Capetown. It was composed of all the Bishops of the Province, and of Clerical and Lay Representatives elected by the different Dioceses—the three Houses, or Orders, the Episcopal, the Clerical, and the Lay, usually sitting and voting together. Provision, however, was made for separate deliberations, if desired, and also for voting by Orders, and, in case of a vote by Orders, it was laid down that a majority of each Order would be required to carry the particular proposal. This First Provincial Synod, an Assembly thus fully representative of the whole Church of the Province, passed a carefully-prepared Constitution, or Deed of Association, and Canons or Rules for Church government, these latter including a system of Church tribunals or Courts, such Constitution and such Canons being drawn up in strict conformity with the procedure laid down in the passage

¹ In 1857 and 1861. Two more were held in 1865 and 1870—the last of these two just before the First Provincial Synod.

² In 1860. A second was held in 1863, a third and fourth in 1867 and 1869.

³ Three years earlier there had been a less formal "Conference" of Bishops of the Province on December 26, 1860.

already cited from the Judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case *Long v. The Bishop of Capetown*. Both Constitution and Canons were also in exact accordance with the careful and elaborate Reports drawn up by the influential Committees appointed by the first Lambeth Conference of 1867¹ to consider the proper and best arrangements for holding Synods and Church Courts, and for electing Bishops, and for organizing Provinces in those Churches outside England which were in communion with the Church in England itself. But, that nothing might be done precipitately, nor without ample consideration, it was resolved that all these Synodical Acts of the first Provincial Synod should only be provisionally in force, and should await their full ratification at the next Provincial Synod.

Such was the position when, four years later, in 1874, the second Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown arrived in South Africa ; and, perhaps, the general result could not be more clearly described than in his own words three years afterwards, on December 5, 1877, in reply to a loyal address from Clergy and Church officials of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, when he said, in reference to the relation of the Church in South Africa to the Church in England :

One thing in connexion with this matter cannot, I think, be too carefully borne in mind, viz. that it is through our Provincial Constitution alone that we retain our union with the Mother Church ; that, without it, we should be independent ministers and congregations, amenable to no ecclesiastical authority, subject to no ecclesiastical laws, and in danger of drifting away into simple congregationalism ; and that the great object of the formation in 1870, and ratification in 1876, of our Provincial Constitution was, on the one hand, to prevent the members of our Church in this land from being broken asunder into a hundred different fragments, and becoming a chaos of congregational Churches, and, on the other, when thus united with one another into one system, to bind us, through our voluntary action, into as close an union as possible, under the circumstances, with the Church of England, which has been to so many of us a tender nurse and Mother.

¹ E.g. The Declarations and Subscriptions still made and subscribed by all Bishops-Elect of the Province, by all Clergymen to be admitted to any office, and by all persons about to be ordained Deacons or Priests, are with the smallest verbal alterations taken direct from Report V. (or "E") of these Committees.

CHAPTER XXVI

“The Grahamstown Case”: *Merriman v. Williams*, 1879–1882.

(a) *In the Diocesan Court of Grahamstown.*—In 1876 the Second Provincial Synod was held at Capetown, and under the presidency of the new Metropolitan the Constitution and Canons of 1870 were, with a few emendations and additions (see p. 102), adopted and confirmed.

The Very Rev. F. H. Williams, D.D., Dean of Grahamstown, sat in the First Provincial Synod of 1870, but the Diocese of Grahamstown did not elect him again to be one of its representatives in the Second Provincial Synod, because for two or three years past he had taken up a very unfriendly attitude towards Dr. Merriman, Bishop of Grahamstown. The Dean thereupon read in Grahamstown Cathedral on October 3, 1875, a protest against the forthcoming Provincial Synod. This he published in *The Eastern Star* newspaper of October 6, and in various ways, especially in his capacity of editor of that paper, he continued to attack the Bishop and to disturb the Diocese.¹ Amongst other things he claimed the right to prevent the Bishop from ministering or preaching in Grahamstown Cathedral. At last, in 1879, the Bishop determined to bring matters to a crisis, and gave notice that he would preach in the Cathedral on Sunday, April 27. The Dean, on that day, omitting the hymn after the Litany, began immediately to preach himself, without going into the

¹ So strong was the feeling about his conduct that in the Grahamstown Diocesan Synod of 1876 a vote of censure upon him was moved by a layman, was seconded by one of the oldest and most respected Priests in the Diocese, and, after full discussion, was carried by large majorities in the House of the Laity and in the House of the Clergy, each House voting separately in a vote by Orders.

pulpit, and thus anticipated the Bishop, who rose and said, "I testify before God and the Church that I am hindered in my lawful ministrations," and then left the Cathedral.

The Dean was cited to appear before the Diocesan Court of Grahamstown on July 30, 1879, to answer for his conduct. As the Bishop was personally concerned, he did not sit in the Diocesan Court, but the Archdeacon of the Cape, the Ven. Hopkins Badnall, D.D., Senior Archdeacon of the Diocese of Capetown, and indeed of the Province also, presided as his Commissary, and was assisted by three clerical assessors and one lay assessor. The case was taken in full judicial form; counsel heard, and witnesses called; and a complete report in book shape was afterwards printed.¹ After four days' trial, Judgement was pronounced on August 5. The Dean was found guilty of contumacy and of conduct giving scandal, and was sentenced to one month's suspension, with loss of income. As he absolutely disregarded this sentence of suspension, he was on November 13, some three months later, excommunicated, the only course which the Canons then permitted, in case a person sentenced to suspension refused to obey the sentence.²

(*b*) *In the Supreme Court of Cape Colony.*—The Bishop next applied to the Civil Court, the Supreme Court of the Colony, to give him his legal rights in his own Cathedral. The question before the Supreme Court was simply one of property, viz. as to the possession of, or control over, the Cathedral.

Now the sites of the Church of St. George (afterwards the Cathedral Church of St. George) and of the Deanery had been granted in 1849 and 1850 to Dr. Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown. In 1860 a special local Act (known as Act 30 of 1860) had been passed to make it certain that the Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown could legally

¹ The Clerical Assessors were: the Rev. Thomas Henchman, Canon of Grahamstown; the Rev. Wm. Meaden; and the Rev. Wm. Llewellyn, afterwards Archdeacon of Port Elizabeth, and Canon of Grahamstown. The Lay Assessor was Mr. John Blades Currey, of B.N.C. Oxford, formerly Government Secretary for Griqualand West. Mr. Advocate Shippard, D.C.L. (afterwards Sir Sidney Shippard, K.C.M.G., and Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland), was counsel for the Ven. Henry Master White, Archdeacon of Grahamstown, who presented the charges. The Dean did not appear, nor was he represented by counsel.

² See Canon 17, Section xv., edition of 1870 = Canon 19, Section xv., edition of 1876. This section was revised and altered in the Provincial Synod of 1891.

alienate or transfer Church property. In 1863 the Bishop of Capetown, Robert Gray, availed himself of this Act to transfer the Grahamstown Church property to Dr. Henry Cotterill, Bishop of Grahamstown. In 1871 Dr. Cotterill transferred the land to the "Bishop of Grahamstown for the time being" and others.

The Chief Justice of the Colony (Sir Henry de Villiers) delivered Judgement on August 26, 1880.¹

His decision was, in effect, adverse to the Bishop. He pronounced, indeed, plainly enough that the Dean had committed himself both expressly and by implication, having become a member of the Church of the Province, and having placed himself under the authority of the Bishop. "He joined," said the Chief Justice, "the Church of South Africa, and became personally subject to its Constitution and Canons." And again, "He has subjected himself personally to the Episcopal jurisdiction of the Plaintiff, according to the laws of the Church of South Africa." The Chief Justice even pronounced the Dean wrong in his claim, as Dean, to have the power of excluding the Bishop from the Cathedral. And yet, after all, he ruled that the Dean's action could not convey to the Bishop any control over property, nor imply any Episcopal rights over the Cathedral, unless the Bishop's own title to that control were sound and good in law; and, in his view, there were two flaws in the Bishop's claim to Episcopal rights over the Cathedral.

First, the Bishop's own status as Bishop was defective. Not being appointed under Letters-Patent, as were the two Bishops, Armstrong and Cotterill, his predecessors, he could not be, in the eye of the law, their true successor. Nor could he be, in the sense in which the words were used in the transfer of 1871, "the Bishop of Grahamstown for the

¹ He went out of his way more than once to express his sense of the strict impartiality of the Diocesan Court. Thus he spoke of the Court as carefully constituted "with the most laudable desire to secure an impartial trial"; and he said, "In reading the proceedings of that Court it is impossible not to admire the ability and candour with which the prosecution was conducted, or the judicial impartiality displayed by the tribunal itself." He also reflected with some severity on the personal behaviour of the Dean towards his Bishop. "We are not now concerned," he said, "with the question whether the Right Reverend Plaintiff has been treated in this matter with that consideration, respect, and good feeling, to which his years, if not his position as a Chief Pastor in the Church of South Africa, and his labours as a Missionary Bishop, have fairly entitled him."

time being." The Royal Letters-Patent constituting the Grahamstown Bishopric in 1853 said :

We do by these presents expressly declare that the said Bishop of Grahamstown, and also his successors, having been respectively by Us, Our Heirs and Successors, named and appointed, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury canonically ordained and consecrated, according to the form of the United Church of England and Ireland, may perform all the functions peculiar and appropriate to the office of Bishop within the said Diocese of Grahamstown.

Now although Letters-Patent had been discontinued in Colonies possessing representative institutions, because pronounced *ultra vires* on the part of the Crown in such Colonies, yet the Chief Justice thought it at least possible that the Crown might still

. . . nominate successors to Bishops appointed under Letters-Patent which reserve this power to the Crown. At all events there is nothing in law to prevent the Crown even now at the eleventh hour from naming and appointing some other person than the plaintiff to be the Bishop of Grahamstown, and if a person so appointed were ordained and consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, his title in respect of the Cathedral—so far as the existing Letters-Patent are concerned—would be complete.

In other words, such a Bishop, so appointed, would have a better right in law than Dr. Merriman, and might displace him.

Secondly, the terms of the Trust on which the church building of St. George's, Grahamstown, was held, did not entitle the Church of South Africa, in the person of a Bishop of the Province of South Africa, not being "a Bishop of the Church of England" (*i.e.* named and appointed by the Crown whether by Letters-Patent or otherwise), to claim any rights over that property. For St. George's Church, Grahamstown, had been founded by and for members of the Church of England, and the site granted "for ecclesiastical purposes in connexion with the Church of England and for no other purpose or use whatever." Whereas the Church of South Africa was not a branch of, nor legally united to, the Church of England for three chief reasons :

(a) Though in the first Article of its Constitution the Church of the Province of South Africa had adopted the Standards and

Formularies of the Church of England, yet the Third Proviso thereto annexed excluded that Church from the jurisdiction of the Privy Council in the interpretation of the Standards and Formularies in questions of Faith and Doctrine; and this exclusion was confirmed by Canon 30,¹ which directed that the interpretation of the Canons or Laws of the Church of South Africa should be governed by the general principles of Canon Law.

(b) The Church of the Province is by another Proviso to Article I. not *bound* invariably to accept all alterations in the Standards and Formularies it has received from the Church of England, which the Church of England itself may hereafter make, and is actually *debarred* by its present Constitution, in the terms of Article I., from conforming to the Church of England, should the Church of England alter or reject any Creed. Thus, for instance, if the Church of England should reject the Athanasian Creed, the Church of the Province, said the Chief Justice, could not reject it, *i.e.* not under the Constitution as it stands at present.

(c) The Church of the Province had *excluded* from itself Bishop Colenso, who was "a Bishop of the Church of England," and had *substituted* for him Bishop Macrorie, who was not a Bishop of the Church of England. For attached to the Constitution was a Schedule of Bishops of the Province containing the name of Macrorie and not containing the name of Colenso, and another Schedule of Dioceses of the Province containing a description of Macrorie's "Diocese of Maritzburg or Natal," as coterminous with the Colony of Natal, which was Bishop Colenso's Diocese.

For these reasons the Chief Justice declared :

This Church . . . has separated itself root and branch from the Church of England. Let me not be misunderstood upon this matter. I do not for an instant presume to find fault with the course which the Church of South Africa has pursued to secure its freedom from external control. But I do say this, that if the Church has separated itself from the Mother Church, let it not claim, as of right, endowments which have been secured for members of the Church of England by private trusts as well as by the public law of the land.

Though Judgement was thus given against the Bishop of Grahamstown, as a matter of pure law and property rights, it was not in any unfriendly spirit. The Chief Justice by the very form of his Judgement, as he himself stated in its concluding sentences, deliberately left the way open for, and even encouraged, an appeal to the Privy

¹ This has been Canon 27 in the edition of 1870, and is Canon 37 in the edition of 1904.

Council on the question of the status of the Bishop of Grahamstown. And he ended with a piece of very sympathetic practical advice, which showed that he thought the Church of South Africa entitled in equity, if not in law, to the property.

"But whatever course," he said, "may be taken in respect of this action, I feel bound to express my individual opinion as to the necessity of legislation, whether Imperial or Colonial, to regulate the relative rights of the Church of South Africa and the Church of England, in respect to their endowments under private deeds of trust, and to legalize the transfer to the Church of the Province of South Africa of property secured by the law for the uses of the Church of England in those cases in which there has been acquiescence for a certain length of time, or where a majority of the congregation consent to the transfer."

The Chief Justice, as Attorney-General in 1873, had himself officially advised the Governor of Cape Colony that existing laws were sufficient, and that nothing further was needed to secure the due transmission of Church property. In view of this and such-like official assurances from other Colonies, forwarded to him in reply to his inquiries, Lord Blachford, who was then preparing a Bill (afterwards passed as the "Colonial Clergy Act") for presentation to the Imperial Parliament, omitted certain clauses, already drafted, which had provided for the safe "transmission of property from Bishops appointed by Letters-Patent . . . to persons duly consecrated to the office of Bishop," and "accepted as successors of such Bishops by the clergy and laity of the Dioceses or reputed Dioceses concerned."

No doubt the Chief Justice would have said that further study had induced him to change his mind. But he saw that the omission of those clauses was already proving a very serious matter to the Church of the Province, and was not insensible to the hardship involved.¹

¹ This was all most curiously parallel to a previous episode in South African Church history. For the second Letters-Patent issued to the first Bishop of Capetown, those of 1853, which caused the Church of South Africa the troubles, in one form or another, of well-nigh half a century, had been drawn up when Sir Richard Bethell was Attorney-General, and had been approved by him. And yet Sir R. Bethell himself, as first Lord Westbury, was constrained to declare judicially, on March 20, 1865, in his capacity as Lord Chancellor and President of the Judicial Committee, in the case "*In Re the Bishop of Natal*," that the only really important clauses in the Letters-Patent, viz. those which purported to give coercive jurisdiction, were "simply void in law."

(c) *Before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.*—In accordance with the suggestion made by the Chief Justice of Cape Colony, in the Judgement, above quoted, of August 26, 1880, and supported by the unanimous advice given immediately afterwards by the Metropolitan and other leading Churchmen assembled in the vestry of St. George's Cathedral, Capetown, the Bishop of Grahamstown now appealed to the Privy Council on the question of his own status, and on the question of his claim to control Grahamstown Cathedral as Church property. The Judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was delivered on June 28, 1882.¹ They spoke in terms of high praise of the Chief Justice's "careful and elaborate Judgement," commended its "gravity" and its "fulness and clearness," and followed his example in stating "their sense of the judicial method and impartiality which mark the proceedings of the Diocesan Court."

But they swept aside at once the whole argument of the Chief Justice regarding the supposed defectiveness of the status of Dr. Merriman as Bishop of Grahamstown. At the very outset they fully acknowledged him as Bishop in the words: "In this case the Plaintiff in the Court below, and the Appellant here, is the Bishop of Grahamstown." And the suggestion of the Chief Justice that the Crown might still conceivably nominate a Bishop of Grahamstown, command the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate him, and send him out with a better right to the See of Grahamstown than Dr. Merriman, is disposed of in a later paragraph in the following terms:

It has been supposed in this case that the Crown might still take such action as to give to Grahamstown a Bishop who should be a successor to Bishops Armstrong and Cotterill within the terms of the Patent creating the Bishopric. But though the Crown has not in any formal or public way decided not to resume the practice prevailing prior to 1863, their Lordships are clear that this case must be decided on the footing that the practice no longer exists.

Thus the Judicial Committee demolished the very founda-

¹ The Lord Chancellor (Lord Selborne, formerly Sir Roundell Palmer) was ill, and the case was heard at the end of March 1882 before Sir Barnes Peacock, Sir Robert Collier, Sir James Hannen, Sir Richard Couch, and Sir Arthur Hobhouse. All the five were present on June 28, and the last-named read the Judgement.

tion of Lord Romilly's Judgement in *The Bishop of Natal v. Gladstone*,¹ which the Chief Justice had assumed must still be held to be the true interpretation of the law, because there had been no appeal against it; and Lord Romilly's strange theory was exploded, that the Crown might even now issue Letters-Patent of a kind, nominating a Bishop and creating him a corporation, notwithstanding that such Letters-Patent would convey no direct coercive jurisdiction.

In reviewing the other grounds of the Chief Justice's Judgement, they pass by without notice the reference to the displacement of Colenso's name by Macrorie's in the Schedule appended to the Constitution of the Church of the Province. Enumerating the points on which the Chief Justice had relied to prove "a disconnexion between the Church of South Africa and the Church of England," viz.

. . . the provisions of the 27th Canon;² the declarations which refer to a possible alteration of the Creeds, and to a possible alteration of Formularies by a General Assembly;³ the provision in the 3rd Canon for the Election of Bishops without the consent of the Crown; and the constitution of separate Ecclesiastical Courts.

They continue:

. . . Their Lordships are not prepared to say that the effect of these provisions is to disconnect the Church of South Africa from the Church of England.

After this, however, they endorsed the Chief Justice's view of the effect of the Third Proviso annexed to Article I. of the Constitution of the Church of the Province. They even went very much further than he did. They declared that this Proviso, in excluding their own decisions, "substantially excludes portions of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of England." For

. . . the Standards of Faith and Doctrine adopted by that Church (*i.e.* the Church of England) are not to be found only in the texts. They are to be found also in the interpretation which those texts have from time to time received at the hands of the tribunals by Law appointed to declare and administer the Law of the Church.

¹ November 6, 1866. See pp. 214, 215, below.

² *I.e.* the 27th of the South African Canons of 1870. It is the 30th in the edition of 1876, and Canon 37 in the edition of 1904.

³ *Sc.* "of the Churches of the Anglican Communion."

In the view of the Judicial Committee, therefore, the Church of South Africa was disconnected from the Church of England for lack of just this one link. It was not bound by their interpretation of the Standards of Faith and Doctrine, and the Church of England was bound.

In England the Standard is the Formularies of the Church as judicially interpreted. In South Africa it is the Formularies as they may be construed without the interpretation.

Again they said :

It was perfectly competent to the Church of South Africa to take up its own independent position with reference to the decisions of the tribunals of the Church of England. But having chosen that independence, they cannot also claim as of right the benefit of endowments settled to uses in connexion with the Church of England as by law established.

Yet even the Judicial Committee ended, like the Chief Justice, by recommending legislation : as if they thought, either that the case was a particularly hard one ; or that, supposing the Church of the Province did not come into the properties, it would be very difficult indeed to find any duly qualified inheritor.

The final result, therefore, was the dismissal of the appeal on this one ground, the non-acceptance by the Church of South Africa of the Judicial Committee's decisions in the interpretation of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of Christ.

APPENDIX

ARTICLES I. AND II. OF THE CONSTITUTION, OR DEED OF ASSOCIATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

I. The Church of the Province of South Africa, otherwise known as the Church of England in these parts : First, receives and maintains the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils ; Secondly, receives the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline of Christ, as the same are contained and commanded in Holy Scripture, according as the Church of England has set forth the same in its Standards of Faith and Doctrine ; and it receives the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to be used, according to the form therein prescribed, in Public

Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Holy Offices ; and it accepts the English version of the Holy Scriptures as appointed to be read in Churches ; and, further, it disclaims for itself the right of altering any of the aforesaid Standards of Faith and Doctrine.

Provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent the Church of this Province from accepting, if it shall so determine, any alterations in the Formularies of the Church (other than the Creeds) which may be adopted by the Church of England, or allowed by any General Synod, Council, Congress, or other Assembly of the Churches of the Anglican Communion ; or from making at any time such adaptations and abridgments of, and additions to, the Services of the Church as may be required by the circumstances of this Province : Provided that all changes in, and additions to, the Services of the Church made by the Church of this Province, shall be liable to revision by any General Synod of the Anglican Communion, to which this Province shall be invited to send representatives.

Provided,¹ also, that in the interpretation of the aforesaid Standards and Formularies the Church of this Province be not held to be bound by decisions, in questions of Faith and Doctrine, or in questions of Discipline relating to Faith or Doctrine, other than those of its own Ecclesiastical Tribunals, or of such other Tribunal as may be accepted by the Provincial Synod as a Tribunal of Appeal.

¹ This "Third Proviso" was not adopted by the First Provincial Synod of 1870 hurriedly, nor yet without the best legal advice.

1. The Bishops of the Province, assembled as long ago as December 15, 1863, in their first Episcopal Synod, had passed two resolutions embodying the principle of freedom contained in it.

2. The first draft of the Constitution had been submitted to Sir Roundell Palmer, afterwards Lord Selborne. He corrected and returned a printed copy, which is still extant. The marginal corrections are in his own handwriting ; and he has signed the whole document at the end, thus : "Approved subject to the alterations above suggested by me, R. Palmer, Dec^r 13, 1869." He wrote also a covering letter, in which he says :

"Subject to these remarks and suggestions, I think the draft Constitution is very well and discreetly drawn up, and that it would work well in practice : remembering always that it cannot legally be applied either to questions affecting the personal rights or status of those who do not assent to it, or to all the administration of trust property acquired before it comes into operation, or accepted afterwards upon any different terms."

After the inclusion of his alterations, the clauses relating to English Ecclesiastical Law, and to the decisions of English Courts of Law, ran in this first draft as follows :

"The Church of this Province receives the English Ecclesiastical Law, as ruling, so far as it may be applicable, the mutual relations of the members of this Church in those matters for which provision may not be made through such voluntary association.

"*Provided, however,* that in the English Ecclesiastical Law applicable to this Church shall not be held to be included those parts of the said Law which relate to the position of the Church of England as an Establishment, or which derive their force solely from Acts of the British Legislature not binding as law in these Colonies upon members of the said Church.

"*Provided, also,* that no decisions of any English Courts of Law shall be held to bind the Unestablished Church of this Province in questions of Faith or Doctrine, or in questions of Discipline relating to Faith or Doctrine."

In the last paragraph, which with verbal modifications was adopted as the "Third Proviso" by the Provincial Synod of 1870, the words "or in questions of Discipline relating to Faith or Doctrine" were added by Sir R. Palmer himself, and the remainder was taken in substance from those Episcopal Resolutions of 1863, to which reference has been already made.

II. The Provincial Synod of this Church, which shall be constituted as hereinafter declared, shall be the Legislative Body of the Church of this Province ; and every enactment of the said Provincial Synod shall be a Law and Rule of the Church of this Province in those matters to which it may pertain.

Provided that the Provincial Synod of the Church of this Province shall be subordinate to the higher authority of a General Synod of the Churches of the Anglican Communion, to which this Province shall be invited to send representatives, whenever such General Synod shall be convened.

N.B.—The above two Articles, Third Proviso included, still stand, word for word, precisely as they stood in 1876.

CHAPTER XXVII

After the "Grahamstown Judgement" of the Judicial Committee—The Metropolitan in England, July to November 1882.

WHEN the Judicial Committee's Judgement in the Grahams-town Case was pronounced on June 28, 1882, the Metropolitan was already on the sea on his way to England. He had left the Cape on June 13, he touched at Plymouth on July 3, and he landed in London on July 5. Two days later, July 7, he was discussing the Judgement with the Archdeacon of Grahamstown, the Ven. H. Master White, who had come to England to watch the progress of the case. After this, he wrote to Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the subject, and from him he received the following important letter, dated from Lambeth Palace, August 5, 1882 :

MY DEAR BISHOP—I have considered with much care the position in which the Church over which you preside finds itself in consequence of recent Judgements.

[Then, after recommending application to the Legislature of the Colony for the settlement of questions relating to endowments, the Archbishop continues :]

. . . Into the particular difficulties which have been raised in the late Grahamstown suit it is not necessary that I should enter. I am glad, however, to have this opportunity of reasserting what was universally acknowledged at the Lambeth Conference of 1878, namely, that no changes which have taken place in the Church over which you preside have in any way separated it from full communion with the Mother Church of England. The spiritual union of our members has been in no way touched by these questions.

A clergyman or layman of your Province finds himself readily welcomed at home as a member of our own Church, and I know

that we receive in turn the full right of all Church privileges amongst you.

I pray that God's blessing may rest upon your unwearied efforts to promote in South Africa the interests of our common Church in the spirit of peace and love.

Believe me to remain, my dear Bishop, your faithful brother in the Lord Jesus Christ,

A. C. CANTUAR.

This emphatic declaration of the South African Church's "full communion with the Mother Church of England," and of the "spiritual union" between them—a spiritual union so wholly effective and practical, that a clergyman or layman coming from one of them was received and welcomed "as a member" of the other—was indeed a bold utterance for any Archbishop of Canterbury to make under the circumstances then existing. It was the more remarkable from a man of such known caution in regard to legal complications as Dr. Tait, and from one who, as Bishop of London, had taken the line he then thought it right to take in regard to South African matters. His words were evidently the deliberate summing up of his past experience, and the mature judgement of a long life and a long Episcopate; and, as he died only four months later, this letter came with something of the character of a parting message of good-will towards the South African Church—a message to be ever gratefully remembered for its timely and outspoken encouragement in the hour of need.

On August 16, the Metropolitan crossed from England to Calais, went up the Rhine from Bonn to Bingen, visited Heidelberg, Zurich, and Chur, and went through the Julier Pass to the "green-blue lakes" of the Upper Engadine, and stayed at Camfer near Silvaplana. At the end of September he went down into Italy to Lake Como, returning through the St. Gotthard Pass on his way to England, which he reached on October 13. It was a very sorely needed holiday, and without it he would never have been able to stand the wear and tear of the months that followed.

For, first of all, news had come of the death of Dr. Merriman, Bishop of Grahamstown, which occurred on the very day (August 16) on which the Metropolitan left

England for the Continent.¹ Then, even whilst he was still in Switzerland, letters arrived which showed that his own Vicar-General, Dr. Badnall, Archdeacon of the Cape, had been entirely unsettled by the Judgement of the Judicial Committee. Badnall had been President of that Diocesan Court of Grahamstown which had tried and condemned Dean Williams in 1879; in 1880 he had published a pamphlet² criticizing the grounds upon which the Supreme Court of the Colony had found for the Dean and against the Bishop of Grahamstown; and until quite recently he had been in England with the Archdeacon of Grahamstown, watching the case on behalf of the Church of South Africa, and hitherto staunch in the defence of her liberties. Yet, in spite of all this, he now suddenly began to take quite a different line. Without waiting to consult the Metropolitan, whose official representative as Vicar-General he happened to be, he had already written to Dr. Webb, Bishop of Bloemfontein (who in the Metropolitan's absence was, as Senior Bishop, the Acting Metropolitan), sending notice that in the Provincial Synod in January he would propose the deletion of the Third Proviso.³ He told the Bishop of Bloemfontein on August 8 that five out of the six Clerical Representatives of the Diocese of Capetown would support him, and that the Archdeacon of George (the Ven. P. P. Fogg) was also moving independently in the same direction. Yet even he himself wrote on September 8 to the Archdeacon of Bloemfontein (the Ven. D. G. Croghan) :

I need hardly say, that, if my life depended on it, I could not accept what some, I think wrongly, understand to be the ruling of the Privy Council, viz. that their decisions are so many new definitions of the Faith equally binding on us with the Creeds.

From this time forward, however, Badnall became the untiring advocate of the repeal of the Proviso at all hazards.

The Metropolitan grappled with the emergency with

¹ Receiving the tidings at Cologne, he returned at once to England, had a long interview with the Archdeacon of Grahamstown, and then rejoined his party, where he had left them, at Cologne.

² "Remarks on the Judgement delivered in the Supreme Court *in re* Bishop Merriman v. Dean Williams, August 26, 1880." It is still one of the best and fullest discussions of the legal arguments on both sides.

³ For the Third Proviso see Appendix to Chapter XXVI. pp. 156-158.

clear-sightedness, promptitude, and firmness. Writing to Dr. Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh, on October 25, he spoke of the very serious features of the situation ; of the possibility of the wholesale loss of Church property, and of the hopelessness of replacing such loss, supposing the laity should feel that the Proviso had been retained in opposition to their wishes ; of the differences between this crisis and the former Colenso crisis in Natal, inasmuch as (*a*) all believing laymen in Natal had then sided with the Church there, and (*b*) the sympathies of England were naturally with the Church as against an unorthodox Bishop, whereas in the present case neither advantage could be reckoned upon.

"I see all this clearly," he said, "and therefore I should naturally be disposed to yield to the proposal which Badnall urges, and in which White and yourself are now inclined to concur ; but, on the other hand, we must first see what may be the consequence of such a step. First of all, it is a leap in the dark, so far even as Parliament is concerned. We may repeal the Proviso, and when we have repealed it, Parliament may refuse to help us, and then we shall be worse off than we are now ; because we shall have made a retrograde movement without securing ourselves from attack, and may even have to go to worse depths still before we can secure our property. But, besides all this, what would be our future position, first, in relation to Colenso and the Bishop of Maritzburg, and secondly, in relation to the dicta of the Privy Council ? It would be argued reasonably, and I think justly, that in repealing the Proviso we must have meant to make some change in our position, so as to meet the objection of the Privy Council. Their objection is that our Proviso holds us free from accepting their decisions ; and, therefore, its repeal can mean nothing else than the expression of our intention to be subject to those decisions. If this be so, then how could we be held free from accepting the decision which pronounced Colenso the rightful Bishop of Natal, and so from implicitly placing the Bishop of Maritzburg in the position of an intruder ? And further, this argument, which would infallibly be raised against us, would bind us, if it should be recognized by the Courts as valid, to accept every one of those unhappy decisions with which the Privy Council has hampered the Church at home for years past.

"If this should be the effect of repealing the Proviso, I would rather lose all our property, alienate every layman in the Diocese, and burn my own right hand, than sign or sanction anything so ruinous to the cause of the Church's Faith and Discipline. To repeal it now would be generally felt, and I fear construed in law, when read by the light of the recent Judgement, to be an act of

submission to the Privy Council, which would have the same effect as the insertion of the Archdeacon's Canon.¹

"Thus in two aspects the step proposed appears to me, as I have called it, a leap in the dark. For, first, we might repeal the Proviso in hope of securing the property, and yet fail to secure the legislation we hoped for; and, secondly, we might be putting ourselves under the yoke of the Privy Council, and making Macrorie's position untenable, and not know we had done all this until the action I have foreshadowed had been decided, and it was too late to retrace our steps.

"Please weigh all this carefully. It is most perplexing to me, and I am utterly at a loss to know how one ought to act. If I were *sure* that the repeal would not change our legal position, I could not refuse to sanction it, though I should not like it. But how can I help opposing it as strongly as possible, unless I *am* sure? And how can I be sure, and how can the soundest opinion make me sure, when I know that the Privy Council are in the habit of contradicting their own Judgements?"

From Camfer in the Engadine he wrote to Badnall a letter covering much the same ground, of which the postscript is well worth quoting for the personal touches it contains:

I trust we may be guided by God's Holy Spirit. We ought, indeed, as you say, to use frequently the Whitsuntide Collect. I have never said my morning or evening prayers since my consecration without it. I hope I have written nothing in this letter or in the former ones to pain or wound you. I have attempted simply and clearly to express my own views in this most anxious question; and perhaps my difficulty in writing² may have caused me to put matters a little curtly, so as to spare myself. If I have in any way grieved you, pray believe that I never intended to do so in the slightest degree, and forgive me accordingly for any seeming abruptness or discourtesy.

Another letter to Badnall, dated November 14, from Ambleside, and written within ten days of the end of his stay in England, reveals how carefully the Metropolitan had sifted the matter, and how he had sought the counsel of all whose opinions were best worth having.

¹ The reference is to a clause which Badnall proposed to insert in Canon 19 *Of Judicial Proceedings*. It ran as follows: "The Faith and Doctrine and, so far as applicable, the Rule of Discipline of the Church of this Province, shall be those which prevail in the Church of England as by law established, and the Tribunals of this Church shall accept as authoritative the decisions of the Tribunals established by law for the Church of England, so far as applicable, and shall be bound thereby." This was indeed thoroughgoing, but the Archdeacon subsequently withdrew it.

² The reference is to an affection of the nerves of the hand similar to "writer's palsy," which often made writing not only difficult, but even painful.

"Nothing," he wrote, "that has yet been said or written convinces me that we ought not, as a matter of principle, to stand by the Proviso. You asked me to obtain the opinions of those here best qualified to advise us. I am sorry to see what you say as to 'a number of lads' putting their hands to a 'no surrender' declaration. I can only say that among these are myself, Lords Selborne, Blachford, Nelson, and others; the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Ely, Peterborough, Oxford, and Truro—all the Bishops, indeed, whom I have been able to see; the Deans of Worcester and St. Paul's; besides men like J. H. Thomas, Douglas, Glover, Gregory, Butler, King, Bright, Liddon, and a host more. The *Guardian*, I understand, is intending to take up the matter from the same side, and everywhere the opinion is strongly expressed that the Proviso ought at all risks to be maintained, certainly until the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission has spoken. . . .

"The Privy Council has never said that we were not *morally* entitled to the property. It has only said that we could not *legally* hold it, while the Proviso remains, without the aid of Parliament, which aid it advised us to invoke. This, too, I take it, is the meaning of the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter;¹ and, in spite of all that has been said, I do not for a moment doubt but that we are at this time the only religious body at all entitled to hold the property, nor do I believe that the Privy Council ever intended to dispute our moral claim to it. I am again surprised that you do not seem to observe that, if justice is due to such congregations as Mowbray and Trinity Church, Capetown, justice is equally due to those who, like myself and others, have accepted office under the Constitution as it exists, and who probably might never have accepted it, had they understood that our Church Courts were to be bound to accept as authoritative the dicta of the Privy Council; as well as to those who have supported the Diocese (and there are very many such who are now speaking out plainly) under the conviction that they were supporting that particular Colonial Church, which, through the insertion of the Proviso, held the foremost place of all in the claim made by the Church of Christ to settle her own matters of Faith and Doctrine, independently of State interference. When such men as Lord Selborne and Lord Blachford hold such strong views on this matter as they do, this side of the question cannot be regarded as one worthy of scant consideration.

"I have but little more time, and we shall, I hope, be able to talk this matter over face to face within a few days of your receiving this. But I must again express surprise at your not seeing that the 'independence' which I and others claim for our Province is not at all, as you seem to conceive, such an independence as is claimed and exercised freely by the Irish and American Churches. Our Con-

¹ See p. 159.

stitution, by disowning any right to change the Standards and Formularies of the Church, precludes us from claiming such freedom as theirs. I am heartily glad that it does so. But there is surely a wide distinction between a claim to frame, amend, or omit Standards and Formularies, and a claim which every other Colonial Province—whether Canada, New Zealand, or Australia—still makes, to interpret them for herself.”

How busy the matter had kept the Metropolitan since his return to England from the Continent on October 13 is evident from the fact that, on nine days out of the thirteen between October 27 and November 8 inclusive, his diary records something connected with the Constitutional question.

On October 30 and 31 five or six prominent lawyers and two or three other eminent men met him in London for a consultation about the Proviso, and he had interviews with the Hon. C. L. Wood, who succeeded to the title of Lord Halifax in 1885, and with Canon Gregory, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's. On November 3 he was in Oxford at an enthusiastic meeting of the Graduates' Missionary Association, and spoke on the same question. A conference with several distinguished University graduates followed on November 6, and a crowded meeting in St. John's College Hall. On November 7 and 8 he had interviews with Lords Selborne¹ and Blachford, the Dean of St. Paul's, and Mr. Martin Sharp, editor of the *Guardian*. On November 24 he sailed for the Cape, after only four and a half months in England and on the Continent, the whole of that time full of anxiety, and almost the whole full of hard and exacting work.

¹ The following is specially interesting, as being an extract from a letter of Lord Selborne's to the Metropolitan, written August 20, 1882, about questions relating to the tenure of endowments conveyed to the Church of South Africa at a time when its Bishops were still appointed by Letters-Patent.

“It is manifest that nothing which could be done in the way of a voluntary Church Constitution could take the decision of questions of that kind out of the cognizance of Courts of Law; and I think it must also be tolerably clear that, where so important a matter as a Church Constitution was in hand, it was necessary that it should be determined on principles suitable to a Church free from State connexion, without regard to any possible difficulties relating to a certain number of titles to property acquired under the former state of things.

“I adhere now, as fully as I ever before may have done, to the principle that the Judicature of a free Church must be free, and not bound by the decisions of any Courts, which are not Courts of that Church, concerning merely spiritual questions of faith or discipline. I could not surrender this principle for the sake of saving to the Church of South Africa any such endowments as these which were in question in the late case between Bishop Merriman and the Dean of Grahamstown—which I must (of course) assume to have been rightly decided, in point of law, whether my own decision would have been the same or not.”

CHAPTER XXVIII

After the "Grahamstown Judgement" of the Judicial Committee—
Debate in the Provincial Synod of 1883.

THE first weeks of the year 1883, which was to be in many ways a memorable one in South Africa, were crowded with business in preparation for the approaching Provincial Synod, and in particular with the preliminaries for the inevitable trial of strength between the supporters and the opponents of the Proviso. Besides interviewing some of the leaders on each side, the Metropolitan consulted four of the chief Cape lawyers. He also himself drew up a careful summary of the legal position, with an appendix of important letters and memoranda from Bishops and lawyers in England.¹ This document he read to a meeting of the "Lay Committee for the Defence of the Proviso," who recommended that it should be published. In its printed form it proved of the greatest service both during the Provincial Synod itself and in the difficult years that followed.

In the midst of all this stress of business and anxiety the stroke of family sorrow fell upon the Metropolitan's household. Early on January 22, the very day upon which the Synod of Bishops was to begin at Bishopscourt itself, the Metropolitan's younger son, a child of eleven months, died.

"God saw fit," runs the touching entry in the diary, "to remove our darling child from us. He died in his sleep at 4.30 A.M.

¹ *A Statement respecting a Proposed Change in the Constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa.* By the Bishop of Capetown. First edition, and second edition (revised), Wm. Foster & Co., Capetown, 1883. It contains Archbishop Tait's letter of August 5, 1882, in full; a memorandum from the Archbishop-elect of Canterbury (Benson); letters from the Bishops of Oxford (Mackarness) and Edinburgh (Cotterill), and from Lord Blachford; and a "Memorandum by a High Judicial Functionary in England" (Lord Selborne).

. . . Synod of Bishops opened to-day with Holy Communion. Bishop of Maritzburg celebrated. I felt I could not. The Synod met 10.30 to 1.30 and 4.30 to 6.30. Agreed unanimously to stand by the Proviso, but to consent to an exceptional mode of treatment of Clergy whose Churches are held under special trusts, and to the appointment of a Council of Reference like that in the Province of Australia and Tasmania."

Debate on the proposed Repeal of the Third Proviso.

The Provincial Synod opened on January 25, the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, and on Wednesday afternoon, January 31, the *Archdeacon of the Cape* (Dr. Badnall) introduced his motion in favour of the deletion of the Proviso, and spoke for two and a half hours, till the Synod adjourned. Next day (Thursday, February 1) Badnall continued his speech for another two and a half hours. He tried to prove from the Constitutions of the Churches of America, Canada, and New Zealand that the Proviso was unnecessary. But these analogies, as other speakers soon pointed out, did not hold, least of all that of the American Church. And his other argument, that the removal of the Proviso, if it did not remove all obstacles to legal union, would at least remove one, was obviously but weak, and by itself inadequate to support so grave a change. The next speech of importance was made by the old *Bishop of St. Helena* (Dr. Welby), the senior Bishop of the Province. He showed that there was no true analogy between the position of the South African Church and that of the American Church. The Church in America had only been an integral portion of the Church of England, so long as it had no Bishop of its own, *i.e.* up to the time of the War of Independence. Subsequently it had made new Canons, altered the Formularies, and did not now attempt to maintain any very close connexion with the Church of England. But the position of the Irish Church really was analogous. The Church of Ireland was now connected with the Church of England exactly as the South African Church was, no more and no less, not legally but spiritually.

The *Rev. John Espin* (Canon and Chancellor of Grahams-town Cathedral) said that he would confine himself to the

discussion of the phraseology in the Transfer and Trust Deeds relating to Grahamstown Cathedral and Deanery, and drawn up in 1849 and 1850, which restricted the property named therein to use "for ecclesiastical purposes in connexion with the Church of England." These documents, prepared under the personal supervision of Dr. Gray, the first Bishop of Capetown, must be interpreted by a solemn Declaration, signed in 1850 by him and by thirty-five out of the thirty-seven clergymen of his Diocese (then the one and only Diocese in South Africa), and afterwards forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this Declaration the Bishop and the other signatories said :

We cannot consider this Court (*i.e.* the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council) as entitled to express the judgement of the Church of England in points of Doctrine ; and, therefore, while we are ready and anxious to listen dutifully to the acknowledged voice of the Church, we cannot accept from such a Court any interpretations or decisions in a Controversy of Faith.¹

Fifteen years later, in 1865, in his charge to the Diocesan Synod of Capetown, Dr. Gray quoted with satisfaction this Declaration. The proof was therefore absolutely complete, that by the phrase in those Trust Deeds "in connexion with the Church of England" he never could have intended submission to the Privy Council decisions in questions of Faith and Doctrine.

¹ For the Declaration in full, see *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown*, by the Rev. C. Gray, vol. i. pp. 311, 312. The occasion was the Judgement of the Judicial Committee in the "Gorham case," March 8, 1850, when the Rev. G. C. Gorham's views were pronounced "not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England as by law established," although he denied that regeneration is necessarily conveyed, or only conveyed, in Holy Baptism, in spite of the clear teaching of the Church of England, in the Book of Common Prayer, that it is. This decision opened the eyes of churchmen in England, and of Lord Brougham himself, to the extraordinary blunder of 1833. In that year Lord Brougham was Lord Chancellor, and he was the chief promoter of the scheme whereby the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the High Court of Delegates—a Court created in 1533, which had at least some claims to be considered a duly constituted ecclesiastical Court—was transferred to the Privy Council. He, therefore, was mainly responsible for the erection of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the following year, 1834, into its anomalous position as an Ecclesiastical Court for England and Wales. Yet in 1850, in the House of Lords, during the debate upon a Bill introduced by the Bishop of London (Blomfield) with the express purpose of creating an Ecclesiastical Court of Appeal more satisfactory than the Judicial Committee, Lord Brougham said, "He could not help feeling that the Judicial Committee had been framed without the expectation of questions like that which had produced the present measure being brought before it. It was created for the consideration of a totally different class of cases (from the Gorham case), and he had no doubt that, if it had been constituted with a view to such cases, some (different) arrangement would have been made" (*Hansard*, Friday, May 31, 1850).

The *Archdeacon of Grahamstown* (The Ven. H. Master White) said that the American Church virtually had a Proviso, and a strong one too. The preamble of the Constitution of the American Church, as drafted in 1785, and ratified in 1789, declared that the Church in the United States had become "independent of all foreign authority, ecclesiastical or civil."¹ The Archdeacon also pointed out that the approval given by Sir Roundell Palmer and other eminent lawyers to the South African Church Constitution, when first drawn up, covered the Proviso also, and was security that the Proviso contained nothing illegal. No single Colonial Church, so far as he knew, had bound itself definitely to accept the Judicial Committee's ecclesiastical decisions as binding on its own Courts; and the Judicial Committee itself had not declared the Proviso illegal, nor bidden the South African Church to repeal it.

The *Archdeacon of Kaffraria* (The Ven. Henry Kitton) and the *Hon. Alfred Ebdon* spoke next, the former against, and the latter for, the repeal of the Proviso.

Then the *Metropolitan* rose, and in the half-hour left before the adjournment he began a long and telling speech. He alluded, with a touch of pathos, to the real and painful isolation in which he was placed by the fact that his two Archdeacons, and most of the Clerical and Lay Representatives from his own Diocese, were against him. He referred the Synod to his published pamphlet, already in their hands, which would show the principles for which he felt it necessary to make a stand. He quoted important passages from the learned book on the Law of the Church by Hoffmann, the American Judge, to show that Hoffmann's authority, on which the Archdeacon of the Cape so greatly relied, was really strongly against him, especially a passage beginning, "It belongs not to the civil power to enter into or review the proceedings of a spiritual court," and ending, "The ecclesiastical jurisdiction in its own sphere—that is, over ecclesiastical matters—must be upheld, or Christianity will become torpid." Continuing, the Metropolitan said:

¹ This declaration accepts on behalf of the American Church that section at the beginning of the American political "Constitution," which declares that henceforth there is to be no established Church or religion within the bounds of the United States of America.

The Proviso means simply two things—

First, that the Courts of the Church of South Africa are *final*, in the sense that there is no appeal from them to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (although an appeal is provided for hereafter to “such other Tribunal as may be accepted by the Provincial Synod as a Tribunal of Appeal”); and

Secondly, that they are *free*, *i.e.* in giving their own decisions they are not bound by the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or of other Ecclesiastical Courts in England.

It is contended that the Church of South Africa in the Synod of 1870 would never have inserted the Proviso, had it known what the effect would be. On the contrary, I am confident that it would have inserted the Proviso rather than kneel at the feet of the Privy Council. Dr. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough,¹ has asked us the very pointed question—

“What can make you wish to place yourselves under a yoke, under which we (*i.e.* the Church of England) have groaned for years past, and from which we are doing our best to free ourselves?”

Resuming his speech next day (Friday, February 2), the *Metropolitan* said :

If the American Church has altered the Church of England Formularies, and yet has retained its property ; *a fortiori* the Church of South Africa, which has not changed, and has not even allowed itself the liberty of changing, the Church of England Formularies, should be entitled to the property given for use “in connexion with the Church of England.” Again, even when the Church of England and the Church of Ireland were still one in the eye of the law, as both “by law established,” and were reckoned together as one Church, they had not one and the same Court of Appeal, but two. The Church of England had the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Church of Ireland had the Irish Court of Delegates. The ruling of the Privy Council that different Courts of Appeal meant disconnexion is, therefore, obviously erroneous, for it is contradicted by facts.

Some persons say that it is very strange to find clergymen returning, as they do, from South Africa to England, and placing themselves after all under the Privy Council. But clergymen returning to work in England, do not go thither to serve the Privy Council, but the Church. And the Church which they serve is not responsible for the yoke placed upon it. They return to serve a Church oppressed by the Privy Council. In England, moreover, as things stand, no one at all is bound in conscience to obey the Judgments of the Privy Council. Nor even by law is any one bound to

¹ Afterwards Archbishop of York.

obey, except the unfortunate person who becomes their victim. The Church of England herself is clear. Here, in this land too, the Church is now clear. But if you remove the Proviso, she is no longer clear. We should not then be in the same position as churchmen are in England. For if the Church here had in her own legislative body accepted those decisions, and if she had spoken with her own voice, as a spiritual body; her members would be bound in conscience, as well as by law, to conform themselves to those Judgements.

Dr. Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh, writes to me, "For the South African Church to surrender that power which is the inherent right of a Church not united with the State, would be a totally different case from that of an established Church which, by God's Providence, has been placed in its special position, and which is embarrassed by the undoubtedly difficult questions of the relation between Church and State, and of the separate responsibilities of each. If an unestablished Church allows false doctrine, the responsibility and the sin are entirely its own."

A cry is raised about the danger of our independence as a Province. But even the removal of the Proviso would not take away that independence. For the same power which could remove the Proviso to-day, could reinsert it at the next Synod.

Independence is inherent in our position, and we cannot evade it. Lord Blachford says in a letter to me, "I do not apprehend that anything you can do will make you legally one with the Church of England. In the eye of the law you are, and must remain, an independent body (like the Churches of Scotland, Ireland, and the United States), not bound by the Act of Uniformity, not under any constitutional obligations to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, without access to the Ecclesiastical Tribunals or to the legally constituted Synods of the English Church, and held together by voluntary contracts among yourselves. This is your position and you cannot escape from it." But we can, by our own act, limit our independence, and this we have done more than any other Colonial Churches in communion with the Church of England. We have done it by Article I. of our Constitution. The choice, therefore, is not the choice of independence, but whether we will limit our necessary independence still further, by binding ourselves to accept the decisions of this Court.

And what is this Court? Is it a Court qualified to settle doctrine? On the contrary it is monstrous that it should be possible for a Court of this kind—composed as it might be of unbelievers—to decide what is the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of England; especially when it is considered that the Judges, even if not unbelievers, could not have the ecclesiastical knowledge requisite, and that a regular theological training is necessary for the right inter-

pretation of the Standards and Formularies of the Church of Christ.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was only constituted an Ecclesiastical Court for the Church in England in 1834. Up to 1833 there was the Court of Delegates, who might all be ecclesiastical persons. But in the Judicial Committee ecclesiastical persons sit only as assessors, and may differ entirely from the Judgement of the Court. The prevailing tendency of the Judicial Committee has been to give all latitude in questions of doctrine, none at all in questions of ceremonial or "ritual." Lord Brougham, who introduced the Bill which inaugurated this change of Courts, said afterwards that only cases altogether different from doctrinal cases were meant to come before the Judicial Committee. He was annoyed that it should touch doctrinal cases at all; and it came to do so only *per incuriam*, as he, the author of the change, himself testified. The Royal Prerogative cannot be injured by the existence of a true Spiritual Court. For the Statute of Appeals (24 Henry viii. c. 12, A.D. 1533) in its preamble recognizes the right of "the Spirituality" "without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons to declare and determine" in spiritual things, as "the Temporality" do in matters of "the laws temporal." "And both their authorities and jurisdictions do conjoin together in the due administration of justice, the one to help the other." That is, there can be, and are, Spiritual or Church Courts on the one side, and Temporal, otherwise called Civil, or State Courts on the other; and the Crown can act through both.

The Church of England herself warns the Church in South Africa to have nothing to do with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, as the address to myself signed by several well-known Bishops,¹ and by Canon Liddon, Lord Cranbrook,² and the masters of various colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, plainly shows.

When in England, I consulted every Bishop I met, and the advice invariably was, Keep the Proviso, and wait till you see what Final Court of Appeal will be recommended for the Church of England by the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, which is now sitting.

The bare omission of the Proviso would not in itself effect a legal reconnexion. On the other hand, the omission would not be innocuous; for lawyers are agreed that the omission would be considered to have been made with some intent, and that intent would be taken to be an intent to open the way for the introduction of the interpretations of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Other Provinces, indeed, have no Proviso; but then they

¹ See p. 164.

² The first Earl of Cranbrook, Gathorne Gathorne-Hardy, M.P. for Leominster, 1856-1865; for Oxford University, 1865-78.

have safeguarded themselves in other ways, and their Final Courts are quite independent of the Judicial Committee.¹

But one of the crucial passages in the Judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Grahamstown case shows how necessary the Proviso is for our protection. The passage is this :

“The decisions referred to (*viz.* in *Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter*, and in *Williams v. the Bishop of Salisbury*) form part of the Constitution of the Church of England as by law established, and the Church and the Tribunals which administer its laws are bound by them. That is not the case as regards the Church of South Africa. The decisions are no part of the Constitution of that Church, but are expressly excluded from it. There is not the identity in Standards of Faith and Doctrine which appears to their lordships necessary to establish the connexion required by the trusts on which the Church of St. George (*i.e.* Grahamstown Cathedral) is settled. There are different Standards on important points. In England the Standard is the Formularies of the Church as judicially interpreted. In South Africa it is the Formularies as they may be construed without the interpretation.”

Henceforth, therefore, if the Proviso should be removed, those particular Judgements, and anything else that the Judicial Committee might say, would become part of the Standards of the Church of South Africa.

In conclusion, the Metropolitan urged the Synod not to give a direct negative to the Resolution before it, but to wait until the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts should have appeared. But meanwhile, he said, the Bishops had two recommendations to make :

First, That they themselves should be empowered by the Synod to meet the case of the parishes affected, by definitely recognizing them under Article XVI. of the Constitution as being, what they already practically were, *viz.* “Peculiars.” The Synod might authorize the Bishops to guarantee to the clergy in these parishes that nothing should be required of them which could not have been required of them if they had been working in England.

Secondly, The adoption of a system similar to that of the Australian Church, *viz.* a Council of Reference, to which could be referred all cases in which either Doctrine, or Discipline in connexion with Doctrine, might be in dispute.

After this speech, which had taken three hours to deliver,

¹ See p. 233.

discussion followed on the two proposals of the Bishops, and ended in an adjournment of the debate until Monday.

On Monday, February 5, the *Archdeacon of George* (the Ven. P. P. Fogg) argued that an independent Province was an anomaly; that the Church was first organized into the Diocese, then into the Province, and then into the Patriarchate; that South Africa belonged to the Patriarchate of Canterbury, and that if it acted independently of the Church of England, it must be doing wrong. He also contended that the Church of England had definitely accepted the Supremacy of the Crown, first in other ways, from the reign of Henry VIII. downward; and then, lastly, in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He maintained that the present Civil Courts were entirely favourable to the true interests of the Church, and that loyalty to the Crown involved in South Africa recognition of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and abolition of the Proviso.

The Archdeacon's arguments were combated by the *Bishop of Bloemfontein* (Dr. Webb), who referred to Magna Carta, which granted, he said, freedom to the Church, freedom to the State, and freedom to the individual; and which began by placing the freedom of the Church first, in the very forefront of all, "Let the Church of England be free."¹ The Church of England, he said, had never, even in Henry VIII.'s time, accepted the Supremacy of the Crown except *quantum per Christi legem licet*, and was looking to the South African Church, which was wholly free, to stand up against the prevailing Erastianism of the age.

Dr. (now Archdeacon) *A. T. Wirgman* followed, and showed that the Church of England, both in Convocation and through her Bishops in the House of Lords, had protested against the Judicial Committee as an Ecclesiastical Court of Appeal.

¹ The first section of Magna Carta, the Great Charter of the liberties of England, which King John signed A.D. 1215, and of which Englishmen are justly proud, begins thus:—"Scitis nos . . . In primis concessisse Deo et hac praesenti carta nostra confirmasse, pro nobis et haeredibus nostris in perpetuum, quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit, et habeat jura sua integra, et libertates suas illaesas; et ita volumus observari; quod apparet ex eo quod libertatem electionum, quae maxima et magis necessaria reputatur ecclesiae Anglicanae, mera et spontanea voluntate, ante discordiam inter nos et barones nostros motam, concessimus et carta nostra confirmavimus."—*Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, ed. William Stubbs, Oxford, 1870, p. 288.

Mr. (now Sir) *L. L. Michell*, one of the Lay Representatives of the Diocese of Capetown, moved an amendment, which was seconded by Canon Lightfoot, in favour of postponing any further discussion of the Proviso, until after the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, and the legislation, if any, consequent upon it.

The *Dean of Maritzburg* (The Very Rev. James Green) related the details of the history of the shaping of the Proviso in 1870 into its present form. Then he said :

A threefold cord, such as is not quickly broken, binds the Church of South Africa to the Church of England. The first strand is Article I. of the Constitution. The second strand is the Proviso to Article II., which says that the Provincial Synod shall be subordinate to a General Synod of the whole Anglican Communion. And the third strand is Canon 22 *Of Appeals*, which in section ix. provides that an appeal in a question of Faith or Doctrine may be carried to a Spiritual Tribunal, either constituted in accordance with Report II. of the Lambeth Conference of 1867, or else by any future General Synod of the Anglican Communion. The Crown has voluntarily withdrawn from an active Supremacy over the Colonial Churches, and has left them free to elect their own Bishops, and to govern themselves in their own proper sphere of spiritual things. It is a happy thing that it has so done, more especially because it would have been highly incongruous that a Church such as that of South Africa, containing Dioceses which are situated in territories not subject to the Crown, should be associated in the minds of those outside the Empire with what to them is a foreign political Power. It is the office of the Church to gather together in one the divided nations of South Africa.

Archbishop Theodore gathered together the Anglo-Saxon Dioceses and formed them into the Church of England, and in so doing paved the way for the formation, by Egbert and Alfred, of the Kingdom of England. And the heart of every Colonist must rejoice to see Bishops, Clergy, and Lay Representatives from the various States and Governments of South Africa, gathered here in the unity represented by this Synod. This Provincial Synod will prove hereafter to be the true foundation-stone upon which will be built that political unity which the hearts of many desire to see accomplished.

A second amendment was moved by one of the Lay Representatives of the Capetown Diocese, *Mr. J. L. M. Brown*, and seconded by another, the *Hon. Alfred Ebdén*. This amendment was in the direction of avoiding a vote

upon the Proviso, but asked the Synod to assert "its determination that the Church of the Province of South Africa shall, as far as its circumstances permit, maintain unimpaired its (legal¹) connexion with the Church of England."

The *Archdeacon of Bloemfontein* (The Ven. D. G. Croghan) took up the challenge of the Archdeacon of George, and showed conclusively that English Church History did not bear out his account of the Crown's absolute authority in spiritual things.

Amongst some seventeen subsequent speakers were several Laymen, and also two of the Capetown Clerical Representatives, one of whom, the Rev. G. Ogilvie, Canon of Capetown, supported the motion for the abolition of the Proviso; the other, the Rev. T. H. Peters (who this year became Canon), spoke strongly on the opposite side.

The vote was taken by Orders; the Laity, as is the rule in such case, voting first, the Clergy next, and the Bishops last. Mr. Brown's amendment was lost in the first stage in the House of the Laity, and therefore was not put to the House of the Clergy, or to the Bishops. Mr. Michell's amendment was carried in the House of the Laity, but thrown out in the House of the Clergy by the narrow majority of one. The original motion of the Archdeacon of the Cape (Dr. Badnall) was then put, and was lost, like Mr. Brown's amendment, in the House of the Laity. The votes for it were 3, and against it 8; two or three Laymen abstaining from voting.

The First Proposal of the Bishops: Resolution regarding Churches under Special Trusts.

On Tuesday, February 6, the *Bishop of Bloemfontein* (Dr. Webb) moved a Resolution to carry out the first proposal of the Bishops. As eventually passed, it ran thus:

That, in accordance with the general sanction implied in Article XVI. of the Constitution of the Church of this Province, this Synod does hereby authorize the Bishops of this Province to take such measures in their several Dioceses with regard to Churches held under special trusts, particularly those involving legal connexion with the Church of England as by law established, as shall in their

¹ The word "legal" was omitted before the vote was taken.

judgement best conduce to the peace of the Church, and the maintenance of the Faith, Doctrine, and Discipline of Christ as received from the Church of England; and further sanctions hereby such action of the said Bishops as shall guarantee to their Ministers (being Clergy of the Church of this Province) and to the Congregations thereof, that nothing shall be required in the conduct of their Services which cannot be required in the Church of England as by law established.

The Bishop said :

This measure is intended to supply a concordat between the Church of the Province and

- (a) Certain *Clergymen* who, unless they hold the licence of their respective Bishops, cannot count as Clergymen of the Province;
- (b) Certain *Congregations*, which have a Church to offer, but are under special Trust deeds.

The Church of the Province has something of real value to offer to these Clergymen and to these Congregations, namely, the gift of communion with the Church of England; for it is clear that only through the Church of the Province can a Clergyman or a Congregation obtain communion with Canterbury. On the other hand, no one in Synod wishes the Church of South Africa to be less comprehensive than the Church at home. Personally I should be very glad if some good Evangelicals would build a Church at Kimberley in my Diocese, where those might worship who sympathize specially with that school of thought. Members of Synod who may be inclined to object to the Resolution, should observe that it is strictly constitutional, the principle of the Resolution being implied not only in Article XVI. of the Constitution, but also in the seventh of the *Preliminary Resolutions*¹ passed by the Synod of 1870, in which the Bishop of St. Helena is recognized both as a Bishop of the Province and also as a Bishop of a "Peculiar." The Resolution now before Synod does not seek to create Peculiars, but simply to recognize those already in existence. The Judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council did recognize Dr. Merriman, the late Bishop of Grahamstown, as Bishop of a Congregation with a Church under such a Trust: and there can be little doubt that similarly the Bishop of Capetown, although he is a Bishop of the Province, will be recognized as successor to Dr. Gray, and Bishop of Congregations in his Diocese with Churches under similar Trusts. The Synod must carefully observe that the Clergymen, to whom the Resolution will apply, are required to be Clergymen of the Province, each holding the licence of his Bishop.

¹ See *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, pp. 2, 3 (ed. 1904).

The *Dean of Maritzburg* objected to the Resolution on the ground that it seemed to deal with other people's property. The *Bishop of Pretoria* (Dr. Bousfield) replied that it dealt with persons, not property; the *Archdeacon of the Cape* (Badnall) said he was glad to hear this; and the *Metropolitan* pointed out that, as Trust deeds governed the property of these Churches, the Synod obviously could not, even if it wished, contravene the Trust deeds and deal with the property.¹

On being put, the Special Trusts Resolution was carried *nemine contradicente*, the Dean of Maritzburg and the Archdeacon of the Cape abstaining from voting.

The Second Proposal of the Bishops: a Council of Reference.

On Thursday, February 8, the other proposal of the Bishops came on, in the form of a Resolution moved by the *Rev. Dr. Wirgman*, to the effect that until the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts should report, and until the adoption of a Tribunal of Appeal for the whole Anglican Communion upon such matters as involved Faith and Doctrine, the Church in South Africa should follow the example of the Church in Australia, and remit such cases to a "Council of Reference" in England, to consist of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, and four Laymen learned in the law. After considerable discussion an amendment was moved by *Mr. J. L. M. Brown* referring the matter to the several Diocesan Synods of the Province. This was seconded by the *Archdeacon of Grahamstown* (The Ven. H. Master White). On the withdrawal of the original motion, it became the substantive motion, and, as such, was carried.

So ended the great debate on the Proviso in the Provincial Synod of 1883, and the Synod passed on to the consideration of other matters affecting the Province at large.

¹ So in a letter written on June 2, 1887, the Metropolitan said, "This Special Trusts Resolution does not enable us (the Bishops of Grahamstown and Capetown) to place Churches under special trusts, but to deal exceptionally with Churches which *have* special trusts, trusts which we have no power to change, and which under the law, as declared by the Grahamstown Judgement, require such exceptional treatment."

CHAPTER XXIX

After the "Grahamstown Judgement" of the Judicial Committee—Continuance of the Schism in the Grahamstown Diocese, 1882-1885.

IN the Diocese of Grahamstown the immediate effect of the Judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Merriman v. Williams* had been to oust Dr. Merriman, Bishop of Grahamstown, from his own Cathedral Church, which remained in the absolute possession of the Dean and his supporters. Thus in two Dioceses of the Province—Natal and Grahamstown—the Church of the Province had been deprived of the Cathedral. There was, however, this difference, that in Natal much other property was lost, but in Grahamstown Diocese only the Cathedral and the Deanery.

Happily the aged Bishop, who was now seventy-three, was spared any further share in the troubles of the time. He died in Grahamstown on August 16 in the same year, 1882, from the effects of a carriage accident on Woest Hill nine days before. An official intimation of his death was required by the Canons of the Province, and the lack of this prevented the Metropolitan from issuing a mandate for the election of a successor till December 15, after his own return from England. The Elective Assembly met on March 7, 1883. The Clergy unanimously elected the Bishop of Bloemfontein (the Right Rev. Allan Becher Webb),¹ and the Laity unanimously assented. The Bishop arrived in his new Diocese on September 2. He landed on that day at Port Elizabeth, preached in St. Mary's Church the same evening, and next day went on to Grahamstown, where all persons

¹ Dr. Webb held the Bishopric of Grahamstown for fifteen years. He resigned in 1898, and became Provost of Inverness Cathedral, till appointed in 1901 Dean of Salisbury in England, where he died June 12, 1907.

united to give him a very cordial welcome. Even the Select Vestry of St. George's Cathedral, "acting with the concurrence of the Dean as their Chairman," sent a deputation, which presented a most conciliatory address. The Bishop met this in the same spirit, and offered to treat St. George's Cathedral Church under the "Special Trusts" Resolution,¹ which the Provincial Synod had passed in February, and which he himself had introduced. Owing, however, to the irreconcilable attitude of Dean Williams, this *rapprochement* came to nothing, and on November 16, 1883, the temporary Church of St. Michael, Grahamstown, was dedicated to serve as a Pro-Cathedral. It was an iron building, 100 feet by 50, purchased by the Bishop, and wonderfully transformed by the skill of an architect, Mr. S. Stent. It stood almost under the shadow of St. George's, the old Cathedral Church, and here the Rev. Wharton B. Smith, M.A., the Bishop's Chaplain, afterwards Canon of Grahamstown Cathedral, ministered to those in the Cathedral Parish who remained loyal to the Bishop. He was assisted by the Bishop's other Chaplain, the Rev. Theodore Cooper, and by a Deacon, the Rev. Barron Moore, now Canon of St. Mark's Cathedral, George. So things went on, until in August 1885 Dean Williams died.

The schism, which the Dean had originated, now came to an end. An agreement was signed between the Bishop of Grahamstown and the Select Vestry of St. George's Church. The Bishop undertook to fill for the present the post of "Officiating Minister" of St. George's, the title used of the Incumbent of that Church in the Ordinance of 1839, and, as such, repeatedly quoted, and applied to the late Dean, in the Judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The Bishop further pledged himself to respect "the rights and liberties of St. George's Church, Vestry, and Congregation, as secured to them under Ordinance 2 of 1839"; and, under the "Special Trusts" Resolution of the Provincial Synod of 1883, to require nothing in the conduct of the Services which could not be required in the Church of England as by law established.

¹ See above, p. 176.

He promised also to move and advocate in the next Provincial Synod the repeal or recasting of the Third Proviso.¹ Under such an agreement the Bishop of Grahams-town regained his rightful position, as Bishop, in the old Cathedral Church of the Diocese, and ministered in it on Christmas Day 1885.

¹ He did this in the Provincial Synod of 1891, although now, as he told the Synod, "released from that pledge and promise generously and absolutely," and therefore at perfect liberty to take whatever course seemed to him right and fit. His Resolution proposed to recast Article I. of the Constitution in a positive form, and so, without compromising any principle, to dispense with the Proviso, which was of the nature of a negative or exception. But it was found that so many other and far-reaching alterations would be necessitated elsewhere in the Constitution and Canons, that the Synod voted to proceed to the next order of the day.

CHAPTER XXX

In the Capetown Diocese after the "Grahamstown Judgement" of the Judicial Committee : Debate in Seventh Capetown Diocesan Synod, 1884.

It has been seen already that the opponents of the Proviso were strongest in the Diocese of Capetown, where the two Archdeacons were the leaders, and had the support of others, of some position and influence, both Clergymen and Laymen. In the Diocesan Synod of 1884 the local agitation against the Proviso reached a climax. In June, before the Synod met, Dr. Badnall, Archdeacon of the Cape, issued a pamphlet called "The Proviso and the Approaching Synod," but it was not nearly so able, nor so convincing, as his old publication on the opposite side, to which allusion has been already made.¹ The Metropolitan's pamphlet, published in January 1883, just before the Provincial Synod of that year, had long ago reached a second edition, and there had also appeared, in pamphlet form, a report of the debate on this subject in the Provincial Synod, edited by the Ven. T. E. Usherwood, M.A., Archdeacon of Maritzburg.

The Seventh Capetown Diocesan Synod opened on Saturday, June 28. The *Archdeacon of George* (the Ven. P. P. Fogg) led the assault upon the Proviso with a series of no less than six Resolutions. All the other five, however, centred round and defended the second, the gist of which was that the Archbishop of Canterbury as "supreme ecclesiastical Head of the Church of England is, according to the Church's custom and law, the supreme ecclesiastical Head of the Church in this Diocese" (*i.e.* Capetown), and he accordingly

¹ See p. 161, note 2.

invited the Synod to declare that it "affirms its allegiance to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and its determination to claim for him, as by canonical right, all such offices as can be exercised by a Patriarch towards his subject Churches."

The third of the Archdeacon's Resolutions proposed to remove the Proviso, as asserting for the Province an independence "inconsistent with its canonical relations to the See of Canterbury, and causing in some respects a severance from the Church of England, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury is the ecclesiastical Head."

Mr. W. Walter, Lay Representative for Somerset West, had an even longer list of twelve Resolutions, and these directed towards the removal not only of the Proviso, but of "all such Canons, Articles, and Resolutions as may be construed to sever the connexion between the Church of the Province and the Mother Church of England." And the Diocesan Synod was asked to state that it "declines to acknowledge any authority or control on the part of the Provincial Synod of the Province of South Africa over this Diocese," until this should be done.

Further, the *Rev. G. Gething* had put on the Agenda two Resolutions recommending

(1) The alteration of the name of the Church of the Province ;
and

(2) A subsequent appeal to the Colonial Legislature for a declaration of identity between the Church in South Africa and the Church of England in England.

After some debate, it was arranged to take all these motions, in the above order, on Thursday, July 3. Numerous petitions, too, on the Constitutional question were presented to Synod. In favour of the removal of the Proviso came "the Wynberg form" from 12 parishes, including Wynberg. In favour of the retention of the Proviso, "the Claremont form" from 21 parishes, including Claremont, and including also 4 parishes whence petitions on the other side had also been received. A separate petition was presented from Trinity Church, Capetown, asking the Synod to withdraw from the Provincial organization of the Church of South Africa.

A. Union and full Communion with the Church of England.

On July 3 the *Archdeacon of George* moved his first Resolution—

That, in accordance with its first *Declaration of Principles* in 1857 and its last in 1880, this Synod always has desired to be in “union and full communion” with the Church of England, and still entertains the desire for the closest possible connexion with the Mother Church.

After some discussion, the *Metropolitan* pointed out that the expression “*always has desired* to be in union and full communion” with the Mother Church implied the present non-existence of such union and communion; and that the latter part of the Resolution embraced by implication the whole question of the Proviso, for “the closest possible connexion” would be understood to mean legal connexion. Finally it was resolved that the Archdeacon’s first Resolution,¹ with the amendment to it, should stand over, until his third Resolution, *i.e.* that on the Proviso, should have been discussed. On the proposal of the *Rev. T. Browning* a positive Resolution was carried unanimously—

That, in accordance with its first *Declaration of Principles* in 1857 and its last in 1880, the Church in this Diocese in Synod assembled declares that it has always been in union and full communion with the Church of England, and it earnestly desires that this union and full communion may remain unbroken.

B. Patriarchate of Canterbury.

The chief Resolution of the *Archdeacon of George* (number 2 in his list), on which the others really hinged, was now considered, *i.e.* that which asserted the Patriarchate of Canterbury. The Archdeacon urged the fact that the Metropolitan at his Consecration had taken an oath to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as if this were a proof that the Archbishop of Canterbury was his Patriarch.

The *Metropolitan*, in reply, explained that the oath (*a*) was only taken at all because the Archbishop of Canterbury

¹ When this Resolution was eventually voted upon, though supported by the Archdeacon of the Cape, it was lost by 35 to 16 (July 14).

thought he had no legal power to dispense with it ; (b) was strictly conditional, and limited by the interpretation embodied in a document signed by all the consecrating Bishops, except the Bishop of Goulburn, who came too late to sign it, but who verbally assented to it ; (c) neither was in form and origin, nor was understood by any of them to be, of the nature of an oath of subjection to a Patriarch.¹

After several others had taken part in the debate, the *Rev. Father Puller*, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, spoke at considerable length. The following is a condensed summary of his argument :

The Archdeacon's contention has been, not that it is desirable to ask the Provincial Synod to co-operate with other Provinces to *create* a Patriarchate, but that Canterbury already *is* a Patriarchal See. 1. But it is a mistake to suppose that the Patriarchal system is a necessary law of the Church's organization. Up to the year 381, as Balsamon, himself a Patriarch, bears witness, the Church was organized on a system of autocephalous Provinces. Even Rome and Alexandria were not Patriarchal Sees. The power they exercised was Metropolitan, not Patriarchal ; and their peculiar prerogative consisted in the fact that in these two cases the ecclesiastical Province comprised a considerable number of civil Provinces. In Ante-Nicene times Carthage alone had a quasi-Patriarchal authority over the various ecclesiastical Provinces of North Africa. There were special reasons which accounted for this North African peculiarity. But, so far, the general system of the Church was simply Provincial.

Then the second and fourth Oecumenical Councils, viz. of Constantinople in 381 and Chalcedon in 451, established the Eastern Patriarchates in particular regions, *e.g.* in Thrace, Asia, Pontus, and "the East." But even these Councils left the Provincial system of Western Christendom untouched, and preserved the autocephalous position of particular Provinces in the East, such as Cyprus. The so-called Patriarchates of Western Illyricum, North Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain were merely the invention of systematizers. In Spain, it is true, Toledo, being a Metropolitan See, did in 681, through royal influence, receive an extraordinary authority to consecrate all the Spanish Bishops. But, even so, Toledo did not acquire Patriarchal jurisdiction ; and the abnormal arrangement only lasted thirty years. In Gaul, the Bishop of Arles held at one time a *delegated* power as a Papal Vicar, but he never possessed the *ordinary* jurisdiction of a Patriarch. He was a mere deputy. The history of the Church, therefore, completely disproves the idea of any universal Patriarchal system.

¹ See the documents themselves, pp. 38, 39.

2. It is argued that because of its origin, the South African Province must be subordinate to Canterbury ; but, if so, Canterbury must, by the same reasoning, be subordinate to Rome, for it sprang from Rome ; and the whole Catholic Church also must acknowledge a Papacy at Jerusalem, whence it had its origin.

Again it is argued that the nationality of four of the South African Dioceses involves the subordination of the Province to the ecclesiastical Head of the National Church. If this means that the whole British Empire ought to acknowledge Canterbury as Patriarch ; Scotland and Ireland are part of the Empire, yet in no way subordinate to the jurisdiction of Canterbury. But if it means that the population of these four Dioceses is English ; the fact is overlooked that the Church has a mission to fulfil to the Dutch and to the Natives. And though, in ancient times, the Latin race was the ruling race in North Africa, yet the North African Church had its own independent head at Carthage, and was quite external to the jurisdiction of Rome.

3. Once more, the Archdeacon of George has appealed to the history of the See of Canterbury as a proof that Canterbury is a Patriarchal See. But it was never designed to be such. St. Gregory the Great expressly said that after St. Augustine's death the two Metropolitan Sees of England were to be independent of each other. In 1072, indeed, the Councils of Winchester and Windsor acknowledged and proclaimed the Primatial jurisdiction of Canterbury over York. But these Councils based their decision on mistakes and forgeries. The "Forged Decretals," composed about 835, had invented the notion of Primates having jurisdiction over Metropolitans. Van Espen (*Jus Eccles. Univ.* Part I. tit. xix. c. ii.) and Fleury deny any trace of the Primatial office in the West until after the age of the Forged Decretals. In 1072 the system of those Decretals was being worked out into practice under the influence of the Hildebrandine movement. About that time a whole crop of mushroom primacies arose all over Europe. In 1079 Lyons became a Primatial See ; in 1088 Toledo was similarly exalted ; and in 1150 the See of Lunden became the Primatial See of Scandinavia. Primacies were, so to speak, in the air. It was under these circumstances that Lanfranc claimed for Canterbury Primatial jurisdiction over York. The case was argued at the Councils of Winchester and Windsor. It was proved from the *Ecclesiastical History* of St. Bede that Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury had presided at a Council at York, and had exercised jurisdiction north of the Humber. But it was forgotten that there was no Archbishop of York until two years after the death of St. Bede. Before that time, all England was organized as one ecclesiastical Province. A pall was sent, indeed, to St. Paulinus. But before he received it he had been driven by the heathen Mercians from his See of York, and he spent the

remainder of his life as Suffragan Bishop of Rochester. After this, the Province of York was evangelized by the Celtic Missionaries from Iona. There is no trace in Bede of the subjection of a Metropolitan at York to a Primate at Canterbury. Lanfranc, however, had other proofs in support of his claim. A series of Papal letters was produced which recognized the Primatial, and even Patriarchal, jurisdiction of Canterbury. But Bishop Stubbs in his *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* has given strong reasons for believing that all these documents were forged in the time of Lanfranc with a view to support his claims. Thus it appears that the whole historical case for an existing Canterbury Patriarchate breaks down when it is carefully examined.

After the lucid and accurate learning of such a speech, the Archdeacon's principal Resolution was doomed. The destruction of his theory that Canterbury already was a Patriarchal See, was complete. The *Metropolitan*, in summing up, said that the supreme ecclesiastical head of any Diocese was not the Archbishop of Canterbury, but the Bishop of that Diocese; and that the Diocesan Synod could only approach any higher power than the Provincial Synod through the Provincial Synod itself. He could not admit that Canterbury was at present either *de facto* or *de jure* a Patriarchate, though he was not prepared to say that he would not be willing hereafter to accept some such Patriarchate under canonical limitations; and if he were spared to attend another Lambeth Conference, he would urge the establishment of a Central Court of Appeal, with the Archbishop of Canterbury as President.

After the Archdeacon's reply, an amendment was put and lost. Then, on a vote by Orders, the House of the Laity rejected also the original Resolution, 13 voting for it and 22 against.

C. The Third Proviso.

The *Archdeacon of George* now moved his third Resolution, modified, owing to the pronouncement of the Synod against his view of the Canterbury Patriarchate, by the omission of the words in italics:

That inasmuch as Proviso 3 of Article I. of the Constitution of the Church of this Province asserts an independence for the Church of this Province, *inconsistent with its canonical relations to the See of Canterbury*, and causing in some respects a severance from the Church

of England, *of which the Archbishop of Canterbury is the ecclesiastical Head*, this Synod desires the removal of the said Proviso from the Constitution.

First he argued that the Church was a spiritual kingdom, which had claimed too much after the fall of the Roman Empire by aspiring to temporal dominion under the Papacy, but at the Reformation had attempted to revert to primitive rule, separating herself from temporal concerns, but retaining nevertheless a relation to the world, and this a relation of submission to the powers that be.

Secondly, he claimed that on national grounds the Church in South Africa is connected with the Church of England, a connexion broken by the Proviso because it excluded the interpretations of the Crown, which interpreted for the Mother Church at home her Standards and Formularies. The repeal of the Proviso would bring the Church into harmony with the law, and would heal the schism in the neighbouring Diocese of Grahamstown. If the Proviso stood, the Supreme Court of the Colony might interpret, without any appeal being possible; if it were abolished, the Supreme Court would be bound by the law which prevailed in the Mother Church.

After fourteen other speeches had been made, seven against the Proviso and seven in its defence, the *Rev. Father Puller* rose and discussed the significance of the words "legal connexion" as used in this controversy. He said :

The real question is, Are the Privy Council decisions part of the *religious* constitution of the Church of England? The Privy Council is the organ of the Royal Supremacy. But the Royal Supremacy is a civil, a political supremacy. The doctrine of the Royal Supremacy means that the Crown must be recognized as the fountain of legal coercion. This doctrine of the Royal Supremacy is not, in itself, a religious doctrine. It only finds a place in the 37th Article of Religion, because the Popes, on pseudo-religious grounds, claimed to exercise a legally coercive jurisdiction independent of the Crown. And so it became a religious act to deny a pseudo-religious claim.

Again, even had the Royal Supremacy been a religious principle, yet the Church of England has never synodically accepted the Privy Council as the proper organ of the Royal Supremacy. The Court

of Delegates, to which the Judicial Committee succeeded, was a very different Court, capable of being worked on Church lines, as the Judicial Committee is not. This view is supported by the writings of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Keble, and Dr. Woodford, Bishop of Ely, and by the action of the Convocation of Canterbury in regard to Dr. Colenso in 1868.

If in England the Church refuses to be bound by the decisions of the Judicial Committee, how much more should it do so in South Africa, where it has neither the benefits nor the drawbacks of establishment. If we synodically accept the Privy Council, we shall do what the Mother Church has never done. The conclusion I draw from all this is that, as the Privy Council decisions form no part of the religious constitution of the English Church, the Privy Council has wronged us by saying that the insertion of the Proviso has severed our connexion with the Church of England.

After all, he said, only the properties under special trusts for the benefit of the "Church of England" were at stake, the rest were safe; and he quoted passages from American, English, and South African judicial decisions, showing that, under ordinary circumstances, the secular Courts would not go into the merits of a case, but would accept the findings of the Church tribunals as conclusive.

"I pass," he continued, "from the legal aspects of the question to the religious aspect. Whatever may be finally determined as to the ownership of buildings and endowments, the Church is bound to refuse to subordinate herself in spiritual matters to the Privy Council. The Church has a commission from Christ to maintain and to transmit His religion. The State has no such commission. The Church which Christ founded was a Church governed by Apostles and Bishops, not a Church governed by lawyers. The Bishops are consecrated to the work of government by the Holy Ghost, and they cannot divest themselves of their responsibility. But even if we put out of consideration the Divine origin of the hierarchy; if we simply think of the Church confusedly, without distinguishing the various orders, and suppose that the lay members of the Church are very proper persons to adjudicate on matters of faith, yet such an admission will not justify subordination to the Privy Council. The civil power is not the same thing as the Church Laity, for it represents the whole community. It represents the world in its bad aspects as well as in its good aspects. How can it then be right to invoke the world to come in and to govern the Church?"

"It is comparatively easy to understand how even religious people could fall into that snare, when the whole community was limited to Church people. But now, when the apostasy is developing, and

the manifestation of Antichrist is approaching, how can Christian men be so rash?

"It has, no doubt, been said that, when things become intolerable, the Church can always withdraw. But it needs great grace to withdraw. And if we voluntarily bind ourselves to wrong principles, we cannot expect any special help when we get into difficulties. The history of the establishment at Geneva is an instance of that gradual secularization which is liable to be effected by close union with the State."

The *Archdeacon of the Cape* (Dr. Badnall) said that he had never been a devotee of the Privy Council, but he thought that there was great danger in the independence of Provincial Churches. No other Colonial Church had such a Proviso, and if its non-insertion would have been perfectly harmless, its removal could do no harm.

After several other speeches on each side, the *Metropolitan*, in summing up, pointed out that, though other Colonial Churches had no such Proviso, they had yet by a different process arrived at the same result, viz. an avowed independence of the Judgements of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in ecclesiastical causes, a Court which the State had imposed on the Church of England, only through the accident of her established condition. Amongst the eminent lawyers consulted by him on the matter were Mr. Jeune,¹ Mr. Rogers, Mr. Davey,² Mr. Isambard Brunell, and Dr. Phillimore,³ who all agreed that the effect of the repeal of the Proviso would be to put the Church of South Africa under the Judicial Committee and to subject it to their authority in ecclesiastical causes. He himself would always give due weight and consideration to their decisions, but that was very different from being bound by them.

It has been freely said that the Church of South Africa is wrong in retaining the property after the Judicial Committee has decided that the legal connexion has been broken by the inclusion of the Proviso within our Constitution. But the "Grahamstown Judgement" did not say, You are bound to abandon the Proviso. It

¹ Afterwards Sir Francis Jeune, and in 1905, a few months before his death, Lord St. Helier.

² Afterwards Sir Horace Davey, 1886, and Lord Davey of Fernhurst, 1894.

³ Now the Hon. Sir Walter G. F. Phillimore, Bart., and a Lord Justice of the Court of Appeal in England.

only said, If you do not abandon it, you run the risk of finding that some day the Courts will decide that you have no right to Church of England property. But our answer to that is, So long as we are fulfilling the duties, we are carrying out the trusts; and, until some one comes forward and proves better right, we should be wrong in going out and leaving them. The ground upon which the "Grahamstown Judgement" was based was never argued before the Court, and my hope and conviction is that, should a similar case hereafter arise, a different Judgement would be obtained. Out of the five judges who tried that particular case, three—and possibly those three may have composed the majority that agreed upon the Judgement—had exercised their judicial functions in India, where the legal position of the Church is wholly different from that of the Church in the Colonies. As to the argument about the danger of our "independence," we have no desire for absolute independence. We love the Mother Church, and wish for the closest possible spiritual union with her, but not with the accidents of her established condition.

In concluding, he earnestly appealed to members of the Synod to manifest no unfriendly spirit towards each other, and, whatever might be the result of the voting, to part as friends.

All the amendments were then withdrawn, and the vote taken on the original motion of the Archdeacon of George. One of the Laymen called for a vote by Orders, and tellers were appointed. The Laity then divided. For the motion, 13; against, 24—majority against, 11. When the tellers reported, and the Metropolitan announced the result, the announcement was received in absolute and respectful silence. The Metropolitan forthwith pronounced the blessing, and the Synod adjourned.

Next day the Synod decided to take other practical matters affecting the Diocese first, and the rest of the resolutions on the constitutional question were postponed *sine die*, and, as it happened, were never brought on. A week later, Wednesday, July 16, the Hon. C. Abercrombie Smith read a document signed by ten Lay Representatives, which, after some discussion, was allowed to be laid upon the table. In this document the signatories said that,

. . . while personally desiring to remain on the most friendly terms with the members of this Synod, (we) deem it to be our duty respect-

fully to object on behalf of our respective parishes to the separation from the Church of England created by the existence of such Proviso and any other provision of similar effect, and to our parishes being bound by the course which the Synod has deemed it right to adopt.

The Lay Representatives for Wynberg and Riversdale announced that, under instruction from these parishes, which left them no alternative, they must withdraw from the Synod, but they did so with real regret. On the closing day of the Synod (July 18) the Lay Representative of Constantia also withdrew.¹

¹ Though Wynberg has never since sent any Lay Representative, its Clergymen have constantly attended Diocesan Synods. On the other hand, Lay Representatives have never been wanting from Riversdale and Constantia, in addition to the Clergymen from those two parishes.

CHAPTER XXXI

In the Capetown Diocese after the "Grahamstown Judgement" of the Judicial Committee: Anti-Proviso Agitation, and Petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1884-1885.

It will be observed that, though the debate above recorded had been upon a burning question, and though the importance of the issue had been fully recognized by both sides, there had yet been complete conformity with the Metropolitan's earnest request, and the vote had been taken without the slightest unfriendly demonstration on either side. Indeed, throughout the debate, as the two Capetown daily papers testify, "the tone of the assemblage" was "a high one," "substantial good feeling prevailed," and the Synod Hall contained "as much kindness as is to be expected in this infirm world," a result the more remarkable because the acrimony of irresponsible persons is only too conspicuous in much of the correspondence in local newspapers of the time.

The defeated, however, not content with these two decisive pronouncements by the Provincial Synod of 1883 and the Capetown Diocesan Synod of 1884, adopted new tactics, and proceeded to petition Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, to counsel them what to do, on the grounds that,

... as a recent legal decision has pronounced a certain clause in Article I. of the Constitution of this Province to have the effect of severing the legal connexion of our Church with the Church of England, . . . the same clause (Proviso III. to Article I.) which has been pronounced to have created this severance, may have committed the Church to a position of independence imperilling our Spiritual Union — *consanguinitas doctrinae* — with the Mother Church. "Serious consequences" might therefore "arise from the difficulties

surrounding the tenure of property, especially our Parish Churches, secured by law to the uses of the Church of England," and "disunion . . . disturb the working of our Synods and otherwise shake the orderly Constitution of our Church."

Both Archdeacons, two out of four Canons, and nine others of the Clergy of the Capetown Diocese signed this Clerical petition, and another petition accompanied it signed by Laymen only.

The Archbishop of Canterbury sent one very long letter in reply to both petitions. He insisted that the true spiritual union between the Church in South Africa and the Church in England was quite safe and undisturbed, and concluded by counselling acceptance of the recent decisions of the Provincial and Diocesan Synods, and the maintenance of a *status quo* in regard to the Proviso for a term of five or even ten years. Unfortunately, however, he introduced into one part of his letter certain private views of his own about the legal effect of the Proviso, viz. that it was of no real efficacy at all, and of no consequence one way or another—views in direct conflict with all the best legal opinion on both sides, to say nothing of all the definite decisions given by Colonial and Imperial Courts of Law.

His reply, therefore, produced a result diametrically opposite to that which he had intended, and, so far from helping to terminate, only prolonged the controversy. His *obiter dictum* disparaging the efficacy of the Proviso was cited over and over again, as if it were the sum total of his answer, or at least the weightiest part, to the utter disregard of his strong advice to leave the Proviso untouched and undebated for a considerable period of years.

The scene now shifts once more ; and instead of mere petitions and correspondence, a case comes on again in the Law Courts, the case of Trinity Church, Capetown. But this must be narrated in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XXXII

In the Capetown Diocese after the "Grahamstown Judgement" of the Judicial Committee : The Case of Trinity Church, Capetown, 1886.

ON November 7, 1849, Trinity Church, Harrington Street, Capetown, and the ground belonging to it were transferred to "The Right Reverend Father in God, Robert, by Divine Permission, Lord Bishop of Capetown, and his successors in the See as Trustees in perpetuity, for ecclesiastical uses in connexion with the Church of England in this Colony." This was in the incumbency of the Rev. R. G. Lamb. Mr. Lamb retired on pension in 1878, and, on the recommendation of the Colonial and Continental Church Society, under whose auspices funds for building the church had originally been raised, the Metropolitan, through his Vicar-General, Archdeacon Badnall, appointed the Rev. Charles Hole, LL.D., who, after signing the Constitution and Canons of the Province, was instituted by the Archdeacon during the absence of the Metropolitan in England. On April 27, 1883, the Metropolitan volunteered to place the Minister and Congregation¹ of Trinity Church under the "Special Trusts" Resolution of the Provincial Synod (see p. 176). Had this offer been accepted, the Congregation of Trinity Church might have entered into union with the Church of the Province under the protection and safeguards of that Resolution. On May 4, however, this offer was rejected by the Vestry.

In 1884 Dr. Hole undertook a tour through the Colony on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and in

¹ There is technically no "Parish" of Holy Trinity, Capetown, but a district is by courtesy assigned to the Church.

March of that year the same Society sent out a certain clergyman as his *locum tenens*. This clergyman was never called upon "to sign any declaration of adherence to the Canons and Constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa, nor to commit himself in any way to the regulations of that Church." All he was required to do was "to make the usual declaration of Canonical obedience and of assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and further," as agreed upon with him before he left England, "to respect and submit to the withdrawal of his officiating licence within the Diocese, should the Bishop see fit to withdraw it on such grounds as would justify such withdrawal under English Ecclesiastical Law."¹ In accordance with the usual custom in England and elsewhere, before giving him a licence the Metropolitan, as Bishop of the Diocese, required this clergyman to produce his Letters of Orders. But he declared that they had been left in England; whereas he had told the Metropolitan's Commissary in England that they had been left in South Africa. He was merely evading the production of a document which would reveal his real name not to be W——, as he gave out, but B——, and might further lead to the disclosure of a discreditable episode in his past history. After many months of this procrastination, Mr. B—— asserted, in October, that the churchwardens had pledged him neither to receive a licence nor to produce his Letters of Orders, and, as his true name and the whole circumstances of his case had now come to light, the Metropolitan was compelled in November to inhibit him. So popular, however, had Mr. B—— become by working on the prejudices of the congregation of Trinity Church against the Church of the Province, and by representing himself as the victim of ecclesiastical tyranny, that even the churchwardens still absolutely declined to believe anything against him, although the full facts were now in the public press, and although the British and Foreign Bible Society, and Dr. Hole himself, entirely supported the Metropolitan in the action he had taken. The bitterness, indeed, stirred up through the news-

¹ All the foregoing quotations are from a complete statement which the Metropolitan published in the *Cape Times*, in order to correct current misrepresentations.

papers by Mr. B——'s partisans, was the principal cause of Dr. Hole's resignation in the course of the next year. It also made the churchwardens and congregation more reckless and determined in an endeavour to set aside the trusteeship of the Metropolitan. In 1885, two or three months at least before the actual resignation of Dr. Hole and his departure at the beginning of July, they were already negotiating to fill the post of incumbent, without any reference whatever to the Metropolitan as Bishop of the Diocese and Trustee, and had gone so far as to commission the Colonial and Continental Church Society to choose an incumbent, and, in the event of the Society refusing, had appointed certain other persons to act in a similar capacity. But the Metropolitan intervened, and warned all concerned, that he would be obliged to maintain, even, if necessary, in a court of law, his rights as Bishop of the Diocese and Trustee. He pointed out to the churchwardens in a letter dated May 25, that

. . . in the deed of transfer no authority whatever is given to the congregation worshipping in Trinity Church, or to their officers, to nominate and appoint the Clergyman who shall minister therein.

Of his own lawful rights, and yet of his desire to meet the wishes of the congregation, he said :

Claiming, as I do, to be the successor of Bishop Gray, a claim which it is, I believe, generally felt has been practically conceded by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Grahamstown Judgement, I have clearly a right, as sole Trustee of the Church, over the appointment of its Minister. I have every desire to meet the wishes of the congregation by securing to them a Clergyman whose teaching shall be in accordance with that which has been given hitherto in Trinity Church. And with the object of guaranteeing to the congregation that their Minister shall hold such views, I am prepared to request the Right Rev. E. H. Bickersteth, Lord Bishop of Exeter, and the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of the Colonial and Continental Church Society, to choose a clergyman as successor to Dr. Hole.

If it be contended by you that I am not the successor of Bishop Gray, there is a course open to you by which this question can be legitimately decided.

When the churchwardens' letter on August 31 showed that they were bent on testing the Metropolitan's claim

in a court of law,¹ he said on September 7, in the course of his reply :

I shall be prepared to place my case before the Court in a fair and temperate spirit, and to do whatever lies in my power to avoid expense and unnecessary soreness.

And again on November 23 :

I can only answer you again that—the necessity of litigation being forced upon me—I shall do everything in my power, short of sacrificing any legal defence, to avoid expense and bitterness of feeling.

The case began in the Supreme Court of Cape Colony before the Chief Justice (Sir H. de Villiers,² K.C.M.G.), Mr. Justice Dwyer, and Mr. Justice Smith, on February 8, 1886. After two hours it was adjourned for a fortnight till February 22, and then again adjourned till March 2, when, in accordance with the request of the Court, both sides produced statements of facts supported by affidavits.

Mr. Schreiner³ appeared for the three petitioners, *i.e.* for the two churchwardens (Dr. White and Mr. J. D. Cartwright) and for Mr. D. Mills. Mr. Innes⁴ appeared for the Metropolitan. When Mr. Schreiner concluded his argument at 12 o'clock the Court adjourned. On the re-assembling of the Court at 2.30 P.M., the Chief Justice said it would be unnecessary to hear Mr. Innes in behalf of the Bishop. The question before the Court was simply, Had there been a complete failure of the trust constituted by the transfer of 1849?

The argument of the Judgement pronounced by the Chief Justice on this question may be summed up thus :

1. In accordance with the Judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Merriman v. Williams* (the "Grahamstown Case"), assuming, as must be assumed until this Judgement be overruled (a) that the Church of England can exist, with modifications, outside England, and (b) that the Church of South Africa is legally disconnected from it; is the legal disconnexion "such as to render

¹ Yet in the same letter they said, "These differences do not exist on the part of the congregation because of any personal objection to yourself, who have ever been regarded by the congregation with goodwill and unfeigned respect."

² Now Lord de Villiers.

³ Afterwards the Hon. W. P. Schreiner, C.M.G., K.C., Prime Minister of Cape Colony, 1898–1900.

⁴ Afterwards Sir James Rose Innes, K.C.M.G., K.C., Chief Justice of the Transvaal, 1902–10, Judge of the Supreme Court, Union of South Africa, 1910.

it incompetent for a Bishop of the one Church to exercise episcopal jurisdiction over a congregation of the other?" Though the Chief Justice said that he left the question to ecclesiastics to answer, the tendency of the whole Judgement is evidently towards the answer, No.

2. The Congregation of Trinity Church had recognized Bishop Gray as their Bishop until his death, *i.e.* for two years after 1870, when he became a "Bishop of the Province." In the proceedings relating to the election of his successor, even though their representative took part under a protest, the very terms of the protest showed that they conceived it possible for a Bishop of the Church of South Africa to be, under certain conditions, their chief pastor. They had subsequently repeatedly acknowledged the present Bishop as their Bishop, and had accepted his ministrations.

3. As to the qualifications and disqualifications of the present Bishop as Trustee: he had indeed no Letters-Patent, and he was not directly appointed by the Crown. But then there was "the authority of the Privy Council for saying that the practice of appointing Bishops in Colonies possessing independent legislatures had already ceased to exist." Besides this, the oath at his consecration, and even the reservation of the "Metropolitical rights of the See of Capetown" accompanying it, told in the Bishop's favour. For the Archbishop of Canterbury, "the highest dignitary of the Church of England," evidently saw nothing inconsistent in an oath to him from a "Metropolitan of the Church of South Africa." Moreover, the Bishop had actually "already subscribed to the Constitution and Canons of the Church of South Africa; and yet the Archbishop of Canterbury, with full knowledge of this fact, consecrated him as Bishop of the Church of England." After all, he had fulfilled, as far as practicable, the conditions of the now disused Letters-Patent; for he had been "consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by virtue of a previous Licence from the Crown."

4. On broad grounds of justice, it could not be said that the Trust had been abused or illegally administered. And the Chief Justice added, "No practical inconvenience has hitherto resulted from the apparent anomaly which the applicants now complain of; but even if it had been otherwise, I fear the practical inconvenience of cutting an episcopal congregation adrift from all episcopal supervision would be still greater." He also said that even were the Court bound to appoint fresh trustees, it was not unlikely that it might appoint the Bishop, as being the person most nearly answering the terms of the Trust.¹

¹ It has been sometimes assumed that in case some future Archbishop of Capetown should not have been consecrated, like his predecessors, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, his title as Trustee of Trinity Church would not be a good one. But the Judgement summarized above obviously rests on many other grounds, and hardly tends to this conclusion.

The two other Judges, Mr. Justice Dwyer and Mr. Justice Smith, fully concurred. The application was therefore dismissed with costs, and the Metropolitan won his case, without his Counsel being even called upon to plead; so clear did the Court consider the matter to be. The fact is the more noticeable, because the three Judges are the very same three who, in the Supreme Court of the Colony in 1880, had given a decision adverse to the claims of Dr. Merriman to be legally Bishop of Grahamstown.

On March 5, three days after the decision in this case, the Metropolitan, in a conciliatory letter addressed to and published by the *Cape Argus*, renewed the offer made on May 25 of the preceding year, before the lawsuit began, about delegating the appointment. He also said that he was prepared "to guarantee that, in the words of the Chief Justice, 'neither the congregation nor their minister shall be required to do, or to permit anything to be done, in Trinity Church inconsistent with their position as members of the Church of England.'" But the Congregation were not, even yet, prepared to accept such an offer, and took steps to promote an appeal from the Supreme Court of the Colony to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Legal opinion, however, was found to be against the likelihood of the success of such an appeal. Negotiations were then reopened with the Metropolitan, and resulted in an agreement, or rather, to use its actual title, *Minutes of Arrangement*, signed on August 21 by the Metropolitan on the one side and by the churchwardens of Trinity Church on the other. In this document the Metropolitan, for this occasion only, waived his claim to nominate the Incumbent of Trinity Church, and agreed "to leave the nomination to the Colonial and Continental Church Society, but with the Bishop of Exeter, should he so consent, acting as the Bishop's Commissary or Representative."

The Rev. B. K. Bourdillon was thus appointed, and on November 14, 1886, was instituted by the Metropolitan after making a declaration of obedience to the Metropolitan as his Bishop. There was, however, an understanding that, as he did not sign the Constitution and Canons of the Province, he should not, whilst he remained Incumbent of

Holy Trinity Church, take his seat in the Diocesan Synod. Subsequent Incumbents before their institution have signed the Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province, though with an explicit declaration added thereto and signed by the Bishop of the Diocese, or his Commissary, that, in terms of the "Special Trusts" Resolution of the Provincial Synod of 1883, "nothing shall be required of them nor of their congregation in the conduct of their Services that cannot be required in the Church of England as by law established." But, though Incumbents of Holy Trinity Church have thus become qualified to sit in the Diocesan Synod, and have in some cases, if not in all, availed themselves of the privilege, this congregation has never since 1884 sent any Lay Representative to the Diocesan Synod, and holds aloof from the Synodical government of the Church of the Province. In some degree, therefore, it remains outside Church life and Church fellowship, although the Bishop of the Diocese holds Confirmations in this Church, and he and several of the Clergy of the Church of the Province have from time to time ministered the Sacraments and preached within its walls. Two other parishes, Wynberg and Mowbray are in the same position. None of the three have sent any Lay Representative to the successive Diocesan Synods since 1884. On the other hand, the Clergy of all three by their signature of the Constitution and Canons, together with the above given declaratory reservation, have acquired and exercised from time to time the right to sit in the Diocesan Synod. And in 1912 the Incumbent of one of the three was elected to be one of the Clerical Representatives of the Diocese of Capetown in the next Provincial Synod.

CHAPTER XXXIII

In the Capetown Diocese after the "Grahamstown Judgement" of the Judicial Committee : Capetown Diocesan Synods of 1887 and 1891
—In England : Speech by Mr. Gladstone at the Colonial Bishops' Fund Jubilee, June 19, 1891.

ON September 17, 1887, the Eighth Synod of the Capetown Diocese assembled. It may be interesting to quote that particular part of the Metropolitan's opening charge, in which he refers to those who had passed away since the last Diocesan Synod of 1884. The sentences are a good example of his manner, and will vividly recall to those who knew him well the very cadences of his voice. The five to whom he alludes were all men of some distinction, and all save one, in Synod and otherwise, had been ranged on the side opposed to him in the Constitutional struggle :

Death has removed from our ranks two of the Seniors of the Diocese. The first of them, though never a member of our Synod, was usually present at our opening and closing Services, and by the gentleness of his spirit won the regard of those from whom he most widely differed.¹ The other, a most active and energetic Clergyman, had been on all three occasions a member of the Provincial Synod, and was at last called to his rest in the very midst of his devoted labours in the cause of Christ and His Church.² Two more have also been removed from us by death : one who had just been ordained to the office of the Priesthood, and had scarcely reached his country parish, when the Master's Call came to him to

¹ William Long, Rector of Mowbray, 1854-87, plaintiff in the case *Long v. the Bishop of Capetown*, died February 16, 1887.

² H. M. M. Wilshire (brother of the Rev. A. R. M. Wilshire, Chaplain of Robben Island), Rector of Caledon twenty-two years ; of Simonstown eleven years ; died April 12, 1885.

the higher ministries of the Church at rest ;¹ the other, one who in less than nine years' residence in the Diocese, had by his sweetness of disposition and his saintliness of life attracted to himself the profound affection not only of his parishioners, but of all with whom he came in contact.² I cannot at this point forbear to recall the memory of one who, though not in Holy Orders, had been a member of every Synod, whether of this Diocese or of the Province, that has ever been held, one most deeply loved and esteemed by all who knew him, and whose name was honoured throughout the Colony, I mean Henry Anderson Ebdon : to me, as to very many, the kindest of friends, to the poor the most generous of helpers in their need, and to the Church the most dutiful of sons. All these being dead yet speak to us from the land of their conscious rest and hope.

Then the Metropolitan spoke of Dr. Badnall, personally his friend, but in the matter of the Third Proviso one of his two chief opponents.³

"Our losses include," he said, "six who are now engaged in the Church's service elsewhere. Of these one deserves a more particular mention. Archdeacon Badnall's name will ever be linked with the history of the Diocese. The domestic Chaplain and constant companion and adviser of the first Bishop, associated with him in the gravest crisis of his episcopate, and successively Archdeacon of each Archdeaconry, he was also, as I am especially bound to add, my kindest and most ready counsellor in days when, without such help, it would have been almost impossible for a stranger to administer the affairs of the Diocese. He has returned to his native land, followed by the esteem and affection of us all, still to pursue his sacred office as a minister and steward of God's mysteries in the neighbourhood of the parish, where he resided and laboured years ago during an interval in his colonial work. We shall all miss his face, and wish in vain for his counsel in the Synod which is being opened to-day."

In this Synod the Constitutional question inevitably

¹ William Collins, transferred for health's sake from Stellenbosch to Prince Albert in 1882 ; ordained Priest, December 21, 1884, at Capetown ; died at Prince Albert, January 16, 1885.

² T. W. Swift, Rector of Wynberg 1878-86, died October 31, 1886.

³ The Metropolitan's letter of farewell to him was most touching, and reveals the characters of both men. It is too long to quote in full, but ends thus :

"You have no need, my dearest friend, to ask my forgiveness. You have always been a good, kind, generous friend to me, and I trust I shall ever be grateful to God for the happiness which your friendship has brought me. The time cannot be far off—it may be nearer than may seem to either of us probable—when we shall understand the true proportions of things better than we can do now, and when we shall see the true solution of those perplexing questions, which, though they have never lessened our mutual affection, have yet been the cause of divergence between us. May God give us light in His own time, and with light peace !" Dr. Badnall died in England, September 27, 1892.

reappeared and that in several forms. Of these far the most important was the proposal about a "Council of Reference" upon questions of Faith and Doctrine. The Provincial Synod of 1883 had referred this matter to all Diocesan Synods, and the Metropolitan in his charge had said that he himself felt in regard to any such Council of Reference that :

(1) It ought itself to be (*a*) common to at least the whole Colonial Church ; and (*b*) constituted by, or under the authority of, the united Episcopate of the Anglican Communion.

(2) The Provincial Tribunal ought to have discretion whether to send any particular case before it, or not ; so as to prevent appeals on merely trivial matters.

On the motion of the Rev. Father Puller the Synod eventually carried a Resolution in the following form :

That this Synod desires most respectfully to represent to the Provincial Synod, that in its judgement it is desirable that a central authoritative Tribunal of Reference should be created to deal with doctrinal questions which may be referred to it by the Final Spiritual Courts of Appeal in the several Colonial Churches : provided that a workable and satisfactory constitution for such Tribunal, in harmony with the historical structure and with the immemorial principles of the Church, can be devised.

At this Synod also the Metropolitan reported that, as requested by the Capetown Diocesan Synod of 1884, he had consulted the Bishops of the Province on the advisability of applying for a declaration from the Archbishop and Province of Canterbury, through Convocation or otherwise, on the unity of the Church of South Africa with the Church of England. The Bishops of the Province were all against such an application, on the ground that it "would seem to imply on our part a doubt as to the truth of our position." He had also written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, though he had discouraged such an application for several practical reasons, had added the following emphatic statement of his own opinion :

To my mind it is utterly impossible to conceive that any Church is united in communion with the Church of England if you are not. You and your Bishops consecrated here ; your oath taken to the See

of Canterbury ;¹ you, and they through you, summoned to Conference with her united Bishops ; yourself officially informed by the Archbishop of Canterbury from time to time of every consecration in England for any English or any Colonial or Missionary See ; your ordained Clergy admissible to officiate, to serve cures, and hold benefices in England, exactly on the same terms and conditions as all other Colonial or Anglican Clergy. Your union is close and formal, as well as spiritual and internal. The legal separation which has been such a stumbling-block does not really determine anything but the present ownership of property. Your Legislature are advised that they *can*, and I earnestly hope they will, set that at rest. The body to which that property was given was the same body as it is now ; it is the body of which you are Bishop and Metropolitan. The change affects your tenure. It does not alter your Doctrine and Discipline. The Church of Ireland never had the same Court of Appeal as the Church of England ; yet the whole was the Church of England and Ireland. The difference of the Court made no difference in the union even of an established Church ; and how can it possibly do so for an unestablished Church ?

This Synod was also memorable for a visit from the Earl of Carnarvon,² who at the close of an eloquent and sympathetic address, said :

I would urge you to be very careful how you invite or embrace any restrictions which may fetter or hamper your own free course of action. And, in saying this, I believe I am speaking the view of the most sober, and the most reasonable, and the most moderate amongst the English Laity who have ever had to consider these matters. . . .

And permit me to say, how my heart warms towards any body of Englishmen who have gone far across the seas in pursuit of their material interests and objects, but who still remain true to the Mother Church of England, who cling to their allegiance to Her, and who recognize Her as one with themselves in formularies, in doctrine, in feeling, in allegiance, in practice.

You of the South African Church have had many trials and troubles in past time. It has been your lot to be forced into the very forefront of a terrible controversy. Yet I cannot altogether pity you. Those plants are the hardiest which are exposed to inclement weather. And so I believe that the South African Church will not, in time to come, regret the troubles and the difficulties that she has had to undergo. I believe those troubles are at an end. I believe that you

¹ But see pp. 184, 185 above, where the Metropolitan himself explains the circumstances and nature of that oath, and cp. 225 note.

² The fourth Earl. He had been Secretary of State for the Colonies 1866-67 and 1874-1878, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1885-86. He died in 1890.

are emerging from that period of difficulty into a much fuller sunshine of success. I believe that happier times are now before you ; and I venture, from the bottom of my heart, to wish not simply this Synod but the whole South African Church, of which you are in part representatives, the most earnest Godspeed.

In the next Capetown Diocesan Synod, held in September and October 1891, the old question reappeared, quite unexpectedly, in the form of a motion expressing regret that the Provincial Synod, held in January and February of that year, had not thought proper to remove the Third Proviso. A full and animated debate ensued, towards the end of which the Metropolitan made a long and trenchant speech, enlivened by touches of humour :

Some one had said that it was a dead question ; but it did not appear to be such. It seemed a very living question indeed. Another had said, Let us bury it. And he said so too. But he did not see why it should be buried by one side, and not by the other. If it was to be buried, for God's sake let it be buried. But such advice scarcely came well from those who took such very good care not to bury it themselves.

Again :

There was one principle, or pillar, upon which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had based its Judgement in the "Grahamstown Case." And this pillar was that the Standards and Formularies of the Church of England were to be found not merely in the texts of those Standards and Formularies, but in the interpretation put upon them by the Judicial Committee. Upon that principle rested the whole structure of the Judgement. Because the Church of South Africa had declined to be bound by any decisions save those of its own Courts, the Judicial Committee declared that the Church of South Africa had separated itself from the Church of England. This was the amazing statement, the "monstrous statement," as Archbishop Tait, in speaking to him, had called it, upon which the whole Judgement was based.

Was, then, the Church of England itself bound by the decisions of the Judicial Committee ? And if not, why should the Church of South Africa be bound ? But the Church of England itself was not so bound. And of the truth of this assertion there could be no better reminder than the recent case of the Bishop of Lincoln.

During his argument in that case, Sir Horace Davey had over and over again told the Archbishop of Canterbury that he was bound by the previous decisions of the Privy Council. But the Archbishop totally disregarded those decisions, and gave Judgement in exact

opposition to them. And that he was right in this disregard, was proved by the observations of two of the members of the present Judicial Committee of the Privy Council itself, the Lord Chancellor¹ and Lord Esher.² For when the Archbishop of Canterbury's Judgement in the "Lincoln Case" came up before the Judicial Committee for review in July 1891, only two months ago, both of these distinguished legal authorities treated with scant respect the idea that the Doctrine of the Church of England depended upon the interpretation of its Standards and Formularies by the Judicial Committee, and that the Judicial Committee's decisions were "part of the Constitution of the Church of England," as the "Grahamstown Judgement" had said they were.³

The rest of the Metropolitan's speech followed much the same lines as his speeches on the same subject on other occasions. Upon a vote, taken by Orders, the Resolution was thrown out, as on the former occasion, in the House of the Laity, the numbers being 10 in favour and 25 against. The motion was, therefore, lost in the first stage, and did not reach the House of the Clergy at all.

So ended the last debate on this subject in the Capetown Diocesan Synod, although, as will be seen further on, the question was far from being finally disposed of, either in the Capetown Diocese or in the Province at large.

In England amongst the notable events of this same year was a great meeting in St. James' Hall on June 19, to celebrate the Jubilee of the Colonial Bishops' Fund. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who had been present at the first inauguration of the Fund on April 27, 1841, was one of the speakers, and his speech, although he had

¹ Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, first Lord Halsbury, 1885; first Earl of Halsbury and Viscount Tiverton, 1898.

² Sir William Baliol Brett, first Lord Esher, 1885; Master of the Rolls, 1882-1897; first Viscount Esher, 1897.

³ Sir Horace Davey had quoted from the Judgement in *Merriman v. Williams*, the celebrated "Grahamstown Judgement," to prove that the Judicial Committee had laid down the principle that the rejection of its own decisions involved separation from the Church of England, and consequent loss of endowments held in trust for the benefit of the Church of England. But, in the presence of Sir Arthur Hobhouse and Sir Richard Couch, two of the five Judges responsible for that very "Grahamstown Judgement," the Lord Chancellor twice interposed to stigmatize this so-called "principle" as "a remarkable thing." Again he said, "It" (*i.e.* this principle) "startles one the first time one hears it." And finally, he remarked, with a sly but obvious reference to the *quantum* of weight attached to the Apocrypha by the Thirty-Nine Articles, "It is only for edification, 'not to establish any doctrine.'" Similarly Lord Esher's words contained much more than a hint that he too thought this extraordinary principle or dictum of the "Grahamstown Judgement" ought now to be disowned, and laid aside, as altogether discredited. See the report of the case in the *Guardian* for July 8, 1891, p. 1150.

hardly recovered from recent serious illness, was as vigorous as ever.

"The history of the Church in South Africa," he said, "is one that in itself reads us a hundred lessons. No one can doubt that the case of the South African Bishoprics has operated in the most powerful manner, first in giving a practical effect to the self-government and free existence of the Church in the Colonies; and, secondly, in dispelling a dangerous and mischievous illusion, which undoubtedly had possessed the minds of many in this country, and which had taught people, and induced them falsely to believe, that when you take away the legal sanction from spiritual acts, those spiritual acts lose all their force and value. The exact reverse, I apprehend, of that proposition is the truth. And it is rather singular to perceive to what extraordinary lengths, in certain cases, the superstition of the old legal system in this country has carried, not only weak or indifferent, but even learned and able men."

Mr. Gladstone then proceeds to quote from the "Grahamstown Judgement" of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council a passage, which he describes as "in itself an historical, a legal, and a philosophical curiosity."

"The decisions referred to (*i.e.* the decisions of the Judicial Committee) form part of the Constitution of the Church of England as by law established, and the Church and the tribunals which administer its laws are bound by them. . . .

In England the Standard is the Formularies of the Church as judicially interpreted. In South Africa it is the Formularies as they may be construed without the interpretation." This is certainly to me a most astounding statement. It is perfectly absurd to say that the decisions of the Judicial Committee are part of the Standard of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of England. That is equivalent to saying, that all we, who accept the Apostles' Creed or the Nicene Creed, are not merely to accept the Doctrine in the Creed, but are to submit to, and to be bound by, any interpretation that any Civil Court may put upon any part of that Creed; and if we do not accept it, we are departing from the Standard of Faith and Doctrine. If that be so, then I say that, in point of fact, the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed are very imperfect; and there ought to be added to each of them a separate Article, namely this: "All men, in order to be good Christians—in the Church of England at any rate—are bound to accept whatever sense may at any time be affixed to either of these Creeds by the civil tribunals of this country." (Laughter and cheers.)

I wish, my Lord, to use this subject to enable me to point out

what a debt we owe to the Colonial Church for having carried us through this difficulty. That citation, which I have just made, I do not make as having at the present time the slightest practical importance. The worms and moths have morally at the present moment eaten it to pieces. (Laughter and cheers.) There is no document of the Dark Ages that is more completely dead and gone, for all practical purposes. But I wish to point out to you, how near you in England have been to very serious dangers. For, of all invasions into the domain of conscience, invasions on the part of the State are among the most dangerous and the most destructive.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Troubles in the Diocese of Natal : First Period ; From the Trial of Dr. Colenso at Capetown in 1863, to his death on June 20, 1883, in Natal.

It is not so generally known as it ought to be, that in his Commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans*, Dr. Colenso, first Bishop of Natal, made certain seriously unsatisfactory statements, denying our Blessed Lord's vicarious Atonement for sin, and disparaging the distinctive character of the special grace conveyed in the two great Sacraments. Upon such statements as these, and not merely upon his other book, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically Examined*, were founded those charges brought against the Bishop in 1863 in the Metropolitan Court of the then Bishop of Capetown, Robert Gray,¹ which, after a long and patient hearing of the case, were held to have been adequately proved. There can be no question that, in dealing with the doctrines which touch upon the most vitally important New Testament truths, the Bishop of Natal had already fallen into some strange confusions of thought and into some very grave errors. He soon went further still ; and beginning by disputing the rightfulness of prayer addressed to our Lord, he seems to have lost his belief in our Lord's full Godhead. It is quite a mistake to regard him as merely an Old Testament critic somewhat in advance of his age, and to say that he

¹ The Metropolitan's Assessors were the Bishops of Grahamstown (Cotterill) and of the Orange Free State (Twells). The only other Bishop of the Province, viz. St. Helena (Welby), was unable to attend, but subsequently, like the two Assessors, concurred in the sentence of the Court. The charges were presented by H. A. Douglas, Dean of Capetown (afterwards Bishop of Bombay), N. J. Merriman, Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) of Grahamstown, and H. Badnall, Archdeacon of George. The trial began on November 17, and lasted till November 21. Judgement was delivered on December 16. A full report of the whole case appeared in the daily press, and afterwards in pamphlet form.

simply anticipated views which, it is alleged, are now universally accepted about the authorship and composition of the historical books of the Old Testament.¹

Unhappily Dr. Colenso could never be persuaded to retract anything at all;² so the sentence of his deposition, which had been suspended until April 16, 1864, was read in the Cathedral Churches of the Province, and in all the churches in Natal, except those few which were under his own control, on Sunday, May 1. But in 1865, disregarding this sentence, and not using the liberty given him to appeal against it to the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, or to the Bishops of England and Ireland, or to a Synod of the Bishops of the whole Anglican Communion, he returned to Natal, and there began again to exercise the episcopal ministry and jurisdiction which he claimed to possess. The Metropolitan's further sentence of excommunication was therefore publicly read by the Dean on Sunday, January 7, 1866, in the Cathedral Church of Maritzburg. On October 26 the Rev. William J. Butler, Vicar of Wantage, was elected to the See of Natal by the Clergy of the Diocese, with the assent of a large body of representative communicants; but owing to certain difficulties regarding his election, on the advice of Dr. Longley, Archbishop of Canterbury, he declined the Bishopric.

In 1867 the Archbishop of Canterbury convened the first Lambeth Conference at the request of the Canadian Bishops, and with a special view to the difficulties caused by Colenso's presence in Natal, and by the fact that the English Law Courts did not recognize his deposition. As

¹ Dr. Alexander Duff, a well-known Indian Missionary of the Free Kirk of Scotland, then travelling in Africa, says in a letter to the Bishop of Capetown: "Since my arrival, I have been perusing with painful yet joyous interest, the 'Trial of the Bishop of Natal for erroneous teaching': painful because of the erroneous teaching, joyous because of the noble stand made by your Lordship and the Clergy at large for true, primitive, apostolic teaching. For this stand, worthy even of primitive times, it is no mere word, of course, to say that I do, feignedly, thank God and take courage." In another letter, written after hearing the Visitation Charge, which the Bishop of Capetown, as Metropolitan, delivered in St. Saviour's Cathedral, Maritzburg, on May 18, 1864, he speaks of Dr. Colenso as having attacked "the glorious fundamental verities of the Gospel."

² Yet a letter to him, in February 1863, from no less than forty-one Bishops, including the four Archbishops, Canterbury (Longley), York (Thomson), Armagh (Beresford), Dublin (Trench), and also the Bishop of London (Tait), urged him to reconsider his position, and if he could not alter it, to resign his See.

Colenso himself had not been invited, he was obviously no longer considered a Bishop of the Anglican Communion. Indeed the Convocation of Canterbury, the Convocation of York, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and the Provincial Synod of the Church in Canada, had all approved of his deposition. Moreover, fifty-six of the Bishops present at the Lambeth Conference, disappointed of an opportunity of expressing their minds in the Conference itself, signed the following document :

We, the undersigned Bishops, declare our acceptance of the sentence pronounced upon Dr. Colenso by the Metropolitan of South Africa with his Suffragans, as being spiritually a valid sentence.¹

But as Lord Romilly's Judgement in the Court of Chancery in 1866 had pronounced Colenso still, in the eye of the law, Bishop of Natal, and as a decision of the Supreme Court of Natal had recently (January 31, 1867) taken the same line,² the Bishops of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, which met in February 1868, thought it well to make absolutely sure that the canonicity of Dr. Colenso's deposition was technically flawless, and appointed a strong Committee to make the necessary inquiry. The Report of this Committee was unanimously accepted by the Upper House of Convocation on July 1, 1868, and the Lower House, without any division, expressed entire concurrence. The concluding words ran as follows :

We are of opinion—(1) That substantial justice was done to the accused. (2) That though the sentence, having been pronounced by a tribunal not acknowledged by the Queen's Courts, whether civil or ecclesiastical, can claim no legal effect, the Church, as a spiritual body, may rightly accept its validity.

Thus the Church in England, and the whole Anglican Communion with her, deliberately decided that the See of Natal was vacant. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr.

¹ The original is preserved at Bishops court, near Capetown. A photograph of it as it stands, signatures and all, may be seen between pp. 82 and 83 of Miss Anderson Morshead's book, *A Pioneer and Founder : Reminiscences of R. Gray, Bishop of Capetown*.

² For these two legal pronouncements, see below, pp. 215, 216.

Longley, was quite prepared to consecrate an orthodox Bishop to take charge of the Church in the Colony of Natal; and in reply to a deputation, headed by Lord Nelson, which presented a memorial about Dr. Colenso, signed by more than 20,000 Lay Communicants of the Church of England, he said, "I have repeatedly declared that I believe him to be in grievous error, and that I think he has been spiritually deposed from his office."

Meanwhile the Rev. William Kenneth Macrorie, Vicar of Accrington in Lancashire, formerly Assistant Master at Radley College, had been chosen by the Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown and approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in conformity with that Resolution of the Elective Assembly in Natal, which provided for the contingency of the non-acceptance of the Bishopric by Mr. Butler. Mr. Macrorie was to have been consecrated in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, on January 25, 1868. But, since legal impediments were affirmed against a consecration in England, the consecration took place exactly a year later, and in St. George's Cathedral, Capetown, on the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25, 1869.¹

As Colenso still held in law the title of "Bishop of Natal," the new Bishop took the title of "Bishop of Maritzburg or Natal," his Diocese being coterminous with the original Diocese of Natal. He had a task before him as difficult, perhaps, as any in Christendom. For Colenso remained in Natal, acted as Bishop, and was in possession of the Cathedral and the property of the See generally. This had come to pass in the following manner.

(i.) *In Re the Bishop of Natal, 1865.*

First, Dr. Colenso, declining to avail himself of any appeal to the Bishops of England and Ireland, or to a general Episcopal Synod of the Anglican Communion, presented instead a petition, as against the sentence of the Metropolitan

¹ The consecrating Bishops were the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown (Robert Gray), and the Bishops of Grahamstown (Cotterill), St. Helena (Welby), and the Orange Free State (Twells).

Court of the Bishop of Capetown,¹ to the Queen in Council. This brought the matter before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and they on March 20, 1865, in the case known as *In Re the Bishop of Natal*, avoiding any discussion of Colenso's doctrine, simply pronounced the Bishop of Capetown's Court *ultra vires*, and its sentence "null and void in law." For in holding his Court the Bishop of Capetown had relied in part on the Letters-Patent of 1853, presuming that they gave him jurisdiction. But the Judicial Committee now declared that the Crown had no power to grant these Letters-Patent in a Colony possessing, as at that date the Cape of Good Hope already possessed, legislative institutions. And they further laid down that the Bishop of Natal's Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Bishop of Capetown was not sufficient to confer upon the latter such Metropolitan authority as would enable him to depose the Bishop of Natal.

(ii.) *The Bishop of Natal v. Gladstone*, 1866.

Fortified by this decision that nothing had been done which, from a legal point of view, deposed him, Dr. Colenso proceeded, in the case known as *The Bishop of Natal v. Gladstone*,² to sue the Council of the Colonial Bishops' Fund for the income accruing to the "Bishop of Natal" from the Natal Bishopric Endowment in their hands. This the Council had withheld, arguing that, on the showing of the Judicial Committee's Judgement, on March 20, 1865, *In Re the Bishop of Natal*, the Letters-Patent issued to him in 1853, and professing to make him Bishop of Natal, had not created a legal Bishopric of Natal, any more than the Letters-Patent issued in the same year to the Bishop of Capetown, and professing to make him Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown, had created any such Metropolitan Bishopric. The Council's contention, therefore, was a purely legal one,

¹ See p. 210, above.

² The Defendants in this suit were the Treasurers of the Colonial Bishops' Fund, of whom Mr. W. E. Gladstone was one; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, as representing the Trustees of that Fund, namely the Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland; and the Attorney-General, as representing the interests of the Crown.

that the trust had failed, because the Letters-Patent had not, in point of fact, created Dr. Colenso "Bishop of Natal."

Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, in a lengthy Judgement delivered in the Court of Chancery on November 6, 1866, virtually explained away several important passages in the Judgements of the Judicial Committee in the two cases, *Long v. the Bishop of Capetown*, 1863, and *In Re the Bishop of Natal*, 1865. He held that the "Church of England" proper could still exist out of England, although the former Judgement seemed explicitly to deny it. And he held that, according to the latter Judgement, the only item in which the Letters-Patent were inoperative was that they gave no *direct* coercive jurisdiction. With this one exception, Colenso remained, by force of these Letters-Patent, Bishop of Natal,¹ exactly as he was before, and might even exercise coercive jurisdiction *indirectly* through the Civil Courts of the Colony.

In an appeal case, known as *Ex parte Jenkins*, which came before them in 1868 from the Bermudas, in the Diocese of Newfoundland, and in which the status of a Colonial Bishop was again discussed, the Judicial Committee in their Judgement said they were not called upon to express an opinion whether Lord Romilly's Judgement could be reconciled with that in *Long v. the Bishop of Capetown*, evidently implying that it could not. They also intimated that the other case, *In Re the Bishop of Natal*, had shown that the powers of the Crown in the appointment of Bishops in self-governing Colonies had been much further narrowed down than Lord Romilly had supposed. Finally, in 1882, in their "Grahamstown Judgement," by the words quoted on p. 154 above, the Judicial Committee took away what last remaining authority might be attributed to Lord Romilly's argument.

Thus, in course of time, piece by piece, the whole decision was greatly discredited. But its immediate effect was to secure to Dr. Colenso, and, as it proved, for life, the income of the endowment of the See of Natal, and to give him, as

¹ He also made the extraordinary statement that Colenso could hold, by virtue of the Letters-Patent, the title "Bishop of Natal," just as the Duke of York, son of George III., held the hereditary title "Bishop of Osnaburgh." This statement, however, seems to have been omitted subsequently in the official report.

de facto Bishop, the trusteeship of all Diocesan properties acquired since his Consecration in 1853.

(iii.) *The Bishop of Capetown v. the Bishop of Natal*, 1869.

In a third action, initiated in September 1866, Dr. Colenso applied to the Supreme Court of Natal to have his own name and those of his successors in office inserted in the Trust Deed or Grant of March 19, 1850, in place of that of "Dr. Robert Gray, Lord Bishop of Capetown and his successors of the said See," as trustees of such Church buildings and lands as had been conveyed to the Bishop of Capetown, prior to the formation of the Bishopric of Natal in 1853.

The Supreme Court gave Judgement in Colenso's favour on January 31, 1867, taking the line that Dr. Gray's trusteeship had lapsed with his resignation of the Bishopric of Capetown on November 23, 1853 (when he resigned in order to promote the division of the Diocese of Capetown into three, viz. Capetown, Grahamstown, and Natal), and that the Letters-Patent issued to Colenso, as Bishop of Natal, and dated that very same day, though he was not consecrated till November 30, being antecedent to the new Letters-Patent issued to Gray as Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown, on December 8, of the same year, forestalled them, and conveyed the trusteeship to Colenso. The properties were, in fact, treated as having become derelict, immediately upon the Bishop of Capetown's resignation of his Bishopric; and the slight, and merely accidental, priority of the issue of Letters-Patent to Colenso, was presumed to have given him "and his successors in office as Bishops of Natal," the trusteeship which Gray had lost.

Against this decision Dr. Gray, the Bishop of Capetown, appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and in July 1869 the case came before them as *The Bishop of Capetown v. The Bishop of Natal*. By their Judgement, delivered on July 20, the decision of the Supreme Court of Natal was varied to some extent. On the one hand, Colenso was pronounced to have "the right to the free and uninterrupted access to and use of the Cathedral (*i.e.* St. Peter's,

Maritzburg) and the land, with all the rights and privileges that ought to belong to him as Bishop of Natal in respect thereof." On the other hand, the Judicial Committee did not allow that he had become actually "Trustee" of the properties in question, though they held that the Bishop of Capetown had lost all *locus standi* as Trustee, and therefore all right to interfere with him in respect of them. In practice, however, this amounted to very much the same thing as if Colenso's trusteeship had been re-affirmed. And, therefore, just as Lord Romilly's Judgement in 1866 had secured Colenso in possession of the income appertaining to the See of Natal, and also, as being *de facto* Bishop, in the trusteeship of such Diocesan properties as had been acquired since the year 1853; so this Judgement of the Judicial Committee in 1869 secured him in the administration, though not in the technical "trusteeship," of all the Diocesan properties acquired previous to the year 1853. Colenso, consequently, until his death, "administered" some properties in Natal, and was "Trustee" of others; the former being the old endowments provided by the exertions and contributions of Dr. Gray and his friends, and the latter being the endowments acquired since Dr. Colenso himself became Bishop of the Diocese of Natal in 1853.¹

The result of all these legal decisions was that Dr. Macrorie came to a Diocese for which at the outset a new Episcopal income had to be provided, and of which the Cathedral and many Church properties were, in the very year of Macrorie's own consecration, definitely and finally handed over by law to Dr. Colenso. But Macrorie was a man of singularly sweet and courteous disposition. Personally he never ceased from first to last to maintain with

¹ In 1871 Dr. Colenso succeeded in carrying through the Natal Parliament, though only by a majority of one, a Bill which made him Trustee of the three Churches named in the Trust Deed of March 19, 1850, viz. St. Peter's, Maritzburg; St. Paul's, Durban; and St. Mary's, Richmond. This Bill also greatly enlarged his powers as Trustee in regard to all properties standing in his own name. The Governor, however, reserved the Bill for the expression of Her Majesty's pleasure. On reaching England, it was referred accordingly to the Privy Council, who advised that it should be disallowed. In so advising, they gave great weight, it was understood, to the opinion of Sir Michael Henry Gallwey, a Roman Catholic, at that time Attorney-General, and afterwards Chief Justice, of Natal. He had argued that the Church was, in the eye of the law, a voluntary Society, whose internal government was ordered by itself, therefore whatever it did within itself, even, for instance, the deposition of its Bishop, could not affect its status in the eye of the law, nor deprive it of its property, or of any civil right.

Colenso friendly, though not intimate, relations. The position, however, was necessarily one of incessant strain and constant friction. But Macrorie steadily gained in prestige and influence, and the staff of Clergy serving under him increased, while that under Colenso dwindled more and more.

Before the coming of Macrorie, certain acts of violence and irreverence had taken place in the dispossession of the orthodox Church folk of Natal from St. Peter's Cathedral Church. But of these nothing whatever need be said here. Such things are best buried in the oblivion of the distant past. Nor is it necessary to do more than allude to the strange fact that Colenso condescended to make common cause with Dr. Williams, the schismatic Dean of Grahams-town, even once, in the year 1880, allowing himself to be persuaded to intrude into the Grahamstown Diocese, and coming to confirm in St. George's Church in Grahamstown itself.

It is far more pleasant to refer to the truly touching correspondence between Dr. Colenso and his chief antagonist, Dean Green, on the occasion of the tragic death of the Dean's youngest son in 1866;¹ and to the other interchange of friendly letters after they had sat together on the Natal Native Commission in 1882;² and to Dr. Colenso's own noble and striking testimony to Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown, in a sermon preached in September 1872, just after the first Metropolitan of South Africa had been taken to his rest.

This last does such wonderful justice to the unwearying labours and to the singleness of purpose of the first Metropolitan, and reflects such great credit on the generous feeling of Dr. Colenso himself, that on both accounts it seems worthy of permanent record, and may fitly find a place at the conclusion of the present chapter.

¹ See Wirgman, *Life of James Green, Dean of Maritzburg*, vol. i. p. 243. This correspondence passed between them whilst Dr. Colenso's action against the Dean to eject him from Cathedral and Deanery was just impending. The Dean's little son, aged eight, had been killed by a fall from a waggon, and Colenso wrote a very sympathetic letter, to which the Dean sent a most grateful reply.

² See vol. ii. pp. 142, 143, of the book above named. The Dean told Dr. Colenso that, whenever present at the daily Eucharist in St. Saviour's Cathedral, he invariably remembered him in his intercessions, and Colenso thanked him in the warmest and most cordial terms.

EXTRACT FROM A SERMON preached in St. Peter's, Maritzburg, by Dr. Colenso on September 22, 1872, the Sunday after the arrival in Natal of the news of the death of Dr. Robert Gray, first Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan, on September 1.

Before I proceed to consider the special subject of this day's discourse, it is impossible that I should pass over in silence the event which the last mail has reported to us—the decease of the Bishop of Capetown, once our Metropolitan, and possibly the first and last Metropolitan Bishop who will preside over the Church of England in these parts.

We cannot, it is true, forget that, for some years past, a painful separation has existed between the late Metropolitan and the members of the Church of England in this Diocese—a separation for which we cannot hold ourselves to be blamable, but the history of which this is not the time to recall to our memories. It is enough that we all are sure that the departed prelate had, throughout his long and troubled course, one single object mainly in view—to advance what he deemed to be the cause most dear to God and most beneficial to man; and that in labours for this end, most unselfish and unwearied, in season and out of season, with energy which beat down all obstructions, with courage which faced all opposition, with faith which laid firmly hold of the Unseen Hand, he spent and was spent, body and soul, in His Service.

To him we owe that the foundations of the Church of England were laid in this Diocese (*sc.* Natal)—that the first Clergy were appointed, the first Churches begun, the first Mission work of our Church started, and the Bishopric established and endowed. And what has been done here, is only an example of what has been done elsewhere, by his untiring self-sacrificing zeal, throughout the vast district originally placed under his charge. In one word, we all “know that there is a prince, and a great man fallen this day in Israel.”

For myself, I remember that he was once my friend and my Father, and that we took sweet counsel together; and the fact that, since then, he has felt it to be his duty to censure and condemn my proceedings, has only added a special solemnity to this event, which has removed him into a sphere, where even now he beholds the truth in the clear shining of God's Light, and whither God in His Mercy grant us grace to follow him, by being faithful to the truth as we behold it.—*Life of J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal*, by Sir George W. Cox, Bart., 2nd ed. vol. ii. pp. 637, 638.

Dr. Colenso himself died somewhat suddenly, after a very short illness, on June 20, 1883, and was buried in front of the altar in the sanctuary of St. Peter's Church, Maritzburg.

CHAPTER XXXV

The Troubles in the Diocese of Natal : Second Period ; From the death of Dr. Colenso in 1883 to the year 1910—Suggested translation of Dr. Macrorie to Bloemfontein—Attempts of the “Church of England” in Natal to obtain a separate Bishop—“Autocephalous” Diocese of Natal proposed by Archbishop of Canterbury—Resignation of Dr. Macrorie—Consecration of Rev. A. Hamilton Baynes—Efforts for reunion, 1893 to 1901—Resignation of Dr. Hamilton Baynes—Consecration of Rev. Frederick S. Baines, formerly Archdeacon of Durban—Great debate in Provincial Synod of 1904 upon the Third Proviso—Conclusion of the Troubles in Natal by passing of “Church Properties Act,” 1910.

AT the end of June 1883, soon after the tidings of Dr. Colenso’s death, the Metropolitan wrote thus to Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury :

We have been startled during the last few days by the sudden news of the death of Bishop Colenso. We had heard no rumour of his even being unwell, when on Thursday the tidings came by telegraph that he was dead. One’s first thought is of deep sorrow that a man so highly gifted, and whose character had within it so many noble traits of courage, generosity, and tenderness of heart, should have denied in such vital questions the Faith which is the Church’s deposit, and should have died, so far as we know, without having expressed the least sorrow for his own errors, or for having caused so grievous a schism in the Church of Christ. However, one desires now to dwell as little as possible on such thoughts. He is face to face with another world ; and to his Master and his Master’s Love we must leave him.

He then discusses the question of what is likely to happen in Natal ; and whether many laymen in that Colony, hitherto Colenso’s adherents, will now join the Church of the Province. He suggests that Dr. Macrorie and those with him may be ready to receive laymen without “any

public repudiation of past action, so long as they are willing to disavow any sympathy with the peculiar teaching of the late Bishop"; but that it may be right to expect "some formal act of reparation from the Clergy who have followed him, and helped by their influence, and their use of their office, to keep the schism alive." Another question is what the Colonial Bishops' Council will now do with the interest of the Natal Endowment. Should this become available for the stipend of the orthodox Bishop, then, according to the terms of the Trust under which it is held, the "Maritzburg Endowment Fund" is to be used "for the establishment of a Bishopric of George, so as to divide this unwieldy Diocese (of Capetown), or for some new Bishopric which may at the time be required."

"It is not impossible," he continues, "that Bishop Colenso's followers finding, as no doubt they will find, that they cannot secure the consecration of another Bishop to take Bishop Colenso's place, may use their efforts to induce some Bishop now retired from his Colonial Diocese to come over and superintend them, and provide them with episcopal ministrations; representing that they are in no way responsible for, or in sympathy with, Bishop Colenso's opinions, but that they are the true representatives of the Mother Church, and the champions of that Church as against the 'Separatist' Church of this Province. I feel, indeed, morally certain that this will be the line that will be adopted. I need scarcely ask your Grace to use all the great influence of your office and your person against the perpetration of such a gross act of schism against a Church, which, though small and feeble, has yet had in God's Providence to fight a great battle of ecclesiastical principle, and of defence of the Faith, and which has been acknowledged by the late Archbishop,¹ as well as by the Church of England at large, to be in the closest possible spiritual union with the Church that begat her. If the Church at home will strongly and strenuously set her face, and speak with a clear voice, against such action on the part of any Bishop who might contemplate taking so schismatical a step (and I am by no means sure that there are not those who would be prepared to take it), this would be the surest way of bringing to a close the unhappy divisions which have so long and so persistently torn asunder the Church in this land."

Other most important questions now came rapidly to the front in this connexion. The Diocese of Bloemfontein was just becoming vacant; for its Bishop, Dr. Webb, had been

¹ Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury. See p. 159.

elected on March 7 to the See of Grahamstown, and would soon be leaving for his new Diocese. Dr. Benson, now Archbishop of Canterbury, thought this an excellent opportunity, if Bloemfontein should be disposed to receive him, for the translation of Dr. Macrorie, Bishop of Maritzburg, to Bloemfontein; so that another Bishop might be chosen for Natal, who would have to contend against no prejudices derived from the past in the minds of Colenso's followers, and might therefore be accepted by them, as well as by those who had throughout acknowledged Macrorie. The Metropolitan and the new Bishop of Grahamstown, after long and anxious deliberation, agreed in advising Macrorie to fall in with this proposal; but only if he could be sure that his resignation of his present Diocese might reasonably be expected to lead to the healing of the schism in Natal. Macrorie, however, eventually determined against allowing himself to be nominated for Bloemfontein for four reasons:

- (1) That his strength was not adequate.
- (2) That the restriction of choice would be unfair to the Diocese of Bloemfontein.
- (3) That his action would be interpreted as the withdrawal from an untenable position.
- (4) That fresh complications would arise; for his successor in Natal must either sign the Constitution and Canons of the Province, and so offend the followers of Colenso; or else not sign, and then not be a duly qualified Bishop of the Province.

Nevertheless for a time it seemed not at all impossible that "the Church of England in Natal," as Colenso's followers called themselves, might agree to accept Dr. Macrorie as their Bishop, and might thus join the Church of the Province of South Africa. Macrorie himself wrote, and published, an admirably conciliatory and friendly letter to them, which at first had a considerable effect. But, unhappily, opposition was still far too strong for the ultimate success of this once hopeful effort towards reunion.

In 1885 the Church Council in Natal, as representing "the Church of England in Natal," applied to the two Archbishops of Canterbury (Benson) and York (Thomson),

and the four Bishops of Worcester (Philpott), Exeter (Temple), Manchester (Fraser), and Liverpool (Ryle), to "select and consecrate a clergyman of the Church of England to be Bishop of Natal in succession to the late Bishop Colenso." In their reply¹ the six Bishops emphatically, though courteously, declined, on the ground that such a consecration "must necessarily perpetuate a state of things which partakes very nearly of the character of a schism." They were quite explicit about the status of the South African Church.

The Church of South Africa for purposes of holding property may not be—as Chief Justice Sir Henry de Villiers said it was not—"a *part* of the Church of England," but it is at any rate in full spiritual communion with the Church of England.

Failing to get these six Bishops in England to choose for them, the Church Council in Natal proceeded, on August 14, 1886, to elect a Bishop for themselves, Sir George W. Cox, Rector of Scrayingham. But the Archbishop of Canterbury refused to apply for the Queen's Licence to consecrate him, and they found that they could put no legal machinery in motion to compel him. On August 19, 1887, in the House of Commons, in reply to a question, Mr. W. H. Smith said :

It was decided in 1884 that, having regard to the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council of the 24th June 1873, Her Majesty should not be advised to appoint by Letters-Patent a successor to Bishop Colenso, and Her Majesty's present advisers see no reason to depart from that decision.

In February 1891 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, put forward another proposal, viz. to solve the difficulties in Natal by the constitution of an "autocephalous Diocese" for the Colony of Natal and Diocese of Maritzburg ; "autocephalous" in this case meaning not absolutely independent, but independent of any Province, and under the direct superintendence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the Metropolitan pointed out to him, on February 21, that this was for three reasons quite impracticable. For,

¹ It may be read at full length in the *Life of Archbishop Benson*, by his son A. C. Benson, vol. ii. pp. 497-500.

whereas he himself, as Metropolitan, had no dispensing power in this direction,

- (1) The Provincial Synod, the only body which might authorize the plan, certainly would not.
- (2) The Provincial Synod itself could give no authorization without the consent of the Dioceses of the Province, and that consent would certainly be withheld.
- (3) The proposal was contrary to the strong opinion of the Lambeth Conference of 1867, reaffirmed by that of 1878, that "all Dioceses remaining isolated" should, as circumstances might allow, "associate themselves into a Province or Provinces in accordance with the ancient laws and usages of the Catholic Church."

Incidentally the Metropolitan mentioned that in Natal the Priests and Deacons of the Church of the Province now numbered thirty, and those of "the Church of England," or followers of Colenso, only five.

In June 1891 Dr. Macrorie, who throughout his long and faithful Episcopate had always laboured for peace and unity, accepted an offer of work in England, hoping that, after his own resignation, the election of a new Bishop might open the way to the termination of the schism in Natal. Upon receiving the telegram announcing Macrorie's impending resignation, the Metropolitan saw clearly enough that any delay would be dangerous, and he took very prompt action. Writing at once on June 19 to Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, he said :

My idea would be that the election should be left in your Grace's hands, and that you should be requested to consecrate in England, and to tender to the new Bishop the Oath to the Metropolitan of the Province. I have good reason for thinking that this course would approve itself to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Maritzburg, while it would be calculated to conciliate the other side by placing the election in the hands of the Chief Pastor of the Mother Church; and the connexion of the new Bishop with the Province would be secured and emphasized.

The Archbishop of Canterbury in his reply on July 27 said :

If the two separate bodies in Natal agree that the course proposed shall put an end to their separation, and that they will live brotherly and work as one Church with one Bishop, and if the nomination of a Bishop to be accepted by both sides is committed to me, and if it is understood that the Oath as taken by the present Bishop of Capetown to the See of Canterbury remains in force, as hitherto, during his tenure of office, then I should be prepared to apply to Her Majesty for Her Mandate (Licence) authorizing me to consecrate the new Bishop in England, and would, at the Consecration, cause only the Oath to his Metropolitan to be administered to him.¹

Meanwhile the "Church Council" in Natal, undaunted by their former failures, had on July 15 elected as their Bishop the Rev. Wm. Ayerst of Cambridge, and now applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate him. But

¹ 1. The assumption which underlies the last two clauses is erroneous. The oath which the Metropolitan of South Africa, Dr. West Jones, at his Consecration in 1874, took to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tait, who consecrated him, did not operate, as Dr. Benson thought it did, in the way of binding the whole Province of South Africa to the See of Canterbury. Dr. Benson's theory was that, just as the Suffragan Bishops of the Province of South Africa took an oath at their Consecration to their own Metropolitan, the Bishop of Capetown, and, in virtue of it, were subject to him, as their Metropolitan; even so their Metropolitan himself had taken an oath to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was, in virtue of it, subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thence followed, moreover, according to his views, the corollary, that these Suffragan Bishops, as subject to Capetown, were therefore subject also, through their Metropolitan, to Canterbury. Facts really contradicted this elaborate theory. As already shown (pp. 184, 185) the oath taken by the Metropolitan of South Africa at his Consecration in 1874 was altogether exceptional. It was only taken at all, in order to satisfy the scruples in regard to law, which were felt by the Archbishop, Dr. Tait, and by his legal advisers. The rubric indisputably intended the oath only for the use of a Suffragan, and not for the use of any Metropolitan of a Province. In the case, therefore, of the Metropolitan of South Africa the oath, in itself incongruous, had been deliberately limited beforehand in its scope, and modified in its application, by the explanatory documents previously executed and duly attested. Less than three months later, all legal obligation necessitating any such oath was absolutely cancelled. For in August 1874 the Colonial Clergy Act (37 & 38 Vict. c. 77) became law, and by section 12 permission was definitely given to each of the two Archbishops in England to consecrate any Bishop for work outside England itself, without the requirement of any Oath of due Obedience to the consecrating Archbishop.

2. It must also be mentioned that a good while before this letter of July 27, 1891, was written, negotiations had been proceeding between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown in reference to the Consecration of the Bishop-Elect of Zululand (Dr. Carter, subsequently Archbishop of Capetown). At first the Archbishop of Canterbury absolutely refused to consecrate unless an oath to Canterbury were taken by the Bishop-Elect. He alleged that the Bishop of Bloemfontein (Knight-Bruce) at his Consecration in England in 1886 had taken an oath to Canterbury, as well as one to Capetown. Finding afterwards that he was mistaken in this supposition, he then argued that the recent Provincial Synod of South Africa in 1891 had altered the position of things by passing a Resolution forbidding any oath to Canterbury on the part of a future Metropolitan. Even this statement, however, was not really accurate. What was actually forbidden was not the taking of any oath at all to Canterbury, but the taking of any such oath as a Suffragan's oath. It is satisfactory to record that in the end Dr. Carter, Bishop of Zululand, though consecrated in England by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1891, took at his Consecration only the oath to Capetown and none to Canterbury, and that Dr. Baynes, Bishop of Natal, did precisely the same in 1893.

the Archbishop was already engaged in the negotiations which, he hoped, would put the choice of a Bishop into his own hands, and he made short work of the application, reminding the representatives of the Church Council, the Rev. Dr. Ikin and Mr. S. Rowse, that the Diocese of Natal was from the beginning an integral "part of the Metropolitan Province of Capetown," as the Judgement of the Privy Council, March 20, 1865, had declared, and saying :

It cannot be argued that, because the Province of Capetown made enactments disapproved by a certain number of Churchmen in one of the Dioceses of that Province, the Churchmen so disapproving obtained the right to be recognized as an independent organization in full communion with the Church of England ; while, at the same time, the Province of South Africa, from which they dissent, continues in full communion with the Church of England.

The Church Council thereupon gave way, and in the reply sent by their Standing Committee on January 27, 1892, to this letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, there occurs the following paragraph :

Under these conditions we can but leave the responsibilities of the situation to your Grace, as our spiritual head, and beg you to propose to us such an arrangement as will safeguard our rights, privileges, and properties, as members of the Church of England, and tend to heal the division which has so long existed in this land.

Dr. Macrorie's resignation did not actually take effect until March 1, 1892.¹ But when the Elective Assembly of the Diocese of Maritzburg met on June 6 following, a very courteous letter to the Registrar of the Diocese from the Secretary of the Church Council was read, enclosing for the official information of the Assembly a printed copy of the correspondence with the Archbishop, and drawing attention to the particular passage quoted above. The Elective Assembly, after full discussion, and after one of the Clergy of the Diocese had been proposed, but had not received the majority of votes required, in the end resolved on delegation to the Archbishop, "the consent of the Bishops of the Province being first had and obtained." There was but one dissentient amongst the Clergy, and the assent of the

¹ He was presented by the Bishop of Ely to a Residential Canonry in Ely Cathedral, and held it till his death on September 24, 1905.

Laity was unanimous. By August 17 the Archbishop of Canterbury had received the formal request to choose and consecrate, and the consent of each of the several Bishops of the Province of South Africa to this delegation, and on February 17, 1893, he wrote to the Metropolitan :

I will cause the Bishop, before Consecration, to take the Oath of Obedience to you as his Metropolitan, and to make and sign the declaration of adhesion to the Provincial Constitution, etc. I have written to Natal to explain the necessity and safety of these acts.

The Archbishop's choice fell upon the Rev. Arthur Hamilton Baynes, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Greenwich, who had been previously for four years his own Domestic Chaplain, and who was consecrated by him in Westminster Abbey on Michaelmas Day, 1893, Dr. Macrorie, the late Bishop of Maritzburg, being one of the consecrating Bishops.¹

Not yet, however, were the troubles in Natal at an end. A summary of the struggle which the new Bishop had to go through may be read in his own book, *South Africa*, in the series of *Handbooks of English Church Expansion*, pp. 183-191. When, as he there describes, the "Church Council" ceased to exist, the congregations one by one gradually united with the Church of the Province. Two, however, St. Paul's and St. Thomas', both in Durban, still declined to send representatives to the Diocesan Synod, alleging the Third Proviso as their stumbling-block. The Bishop put before them the proposed Court of Appeal, or "Tribunal of Reference" for the whole Anglican Communion, as the real solution. Illness during the Lambeth Conference in 1897 prevented him from urging upon that Conference the formation of such a Tribunal. To his great disappointment, as indeed to the disappointment of the Metropolitan and others, only a "Consultative Body," not a Tribunal, was decided upon, and the constitution of this was left to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Bishop, however, was sanguine enough to hope (*a*) to persuade the members of

¹ The other Bishops taking part in the Consecration were the Diocesan Bishops of London (Temple), Southwell (Ridding), Rochester (Davidson), Guiana (Swaby), and the Suffragan Bishops of Derby (Were), and Southwark (Biggs), now Bishop of Worcester. After the Consecration, Dr. Macrorie presented his own pastoral staff to the new Bishop.

this Consultative Body to agree to act, if asked, as such a Court ; (b) to persuade the Provincial Synod of South Africa of 1898, then just about to meet, to request them so to act ; and (c) to persuade the two Vestries of St. Paul's and St. Thomas' to agree, in this event, to join the Province, seeing the Province of South Africa could then show a Court of Appeal beyond its own limits. Owing largely to the indefatigable labours of the Rev. D. W. Duthie of St. Paul's, and of the Rev. Wm. Copeland of St. Thomas', in the cause of reconciliation, and to their success in inspiring their people with a desire for reunion, the two Vestries, consented, by large majorities, to accept this proposal. By a rapid visit to England, the Bishop secured the consent of the members of the Consultative Body. Then, in the Provincial Synod, he carried, after long discussion and after some important amendments, a Resolution adding to the Canons the clauses necessary to give the Consultative Body power to act in any "suit involving questions of Faith or Doctrine" as a Court of Appeal, by way of reference, from the Final Court of the Province of South Africa, the ultimate sentence of the Court of the Province to be "in accordance with the advice of the Consultative Body."¹ Thereupon the congregation of St. Thomas' loyally fulfilled their pledge, and united themselves to the Church of the Province. But unhappily the congregation of St. Paul's did not. This led to the resignation of the Bishop in 1901.

His successor, Dr. F. S. Baines, who as Archdeacon of

¹ The clauses will be found in the *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, Canon 32, 11, p. 54 (ed. 1904). Of the Archbishop of Capetown's speech in winding up the debate on this occasion, one of the members of the Synod, himself now a Bishop of the Province, says, "It was the best speech I ever heard from him as Chairman. The Bishop of Natal when called upon, as mover, to exercise his right of reply, said that he had nothing to add to so fair and complete a statement."

The Consultative Body is now known as the "Central Consultative Body." In conformity with the Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference (see *Official Report of Lambeth Conference of 1908*, p. 163, and cp. p. 40) it is now (in 1913) constituted as follows :

1. PRESIDENT : The Archbishop of Canterbury (*ex officio*). 2. REPRESENTATIVE BISHOPS : *Province of Canterbury*, Bishop of Exeter, and Bishop Ryle ; *Province of York*, Archbishop of York ; *Church of Ireland*, Archbishop of Armagh ; *Episcopal Church in Scotland*, Bishop of Brechin (Primus) ; *Church of England in Canada*, Archbishop of Rupertsland ; *Church of England in Dioceses of Australia and Tasmania*, Archbishop of Sydney ; *Church of the Province of New Zealand*, Bishop Wallis (late of Wellington) ; *Province of West Indies*, Archbishop of the West Indies ; *Church of the Province of South Africa*, Bishop of Winchester ; *Province of India and Ceylon*, Bishop Copleston (late of Calcutta) ; *Dioceses of China, Corea, and the Church of Japan*, Bishop of St. Alban's ; *Missionary and other extra-Provincial Dioceses under jurisdiction of Archbishop of Canterbury*, Bishop of Gibraltar.

Durban from 1893 to 1898, and incumbent for four years of St. Peter's, Maritzburg, had done as much as anyone to win the hearts of those still outside the Church of the Province, was consecrated in Capetown Cathedral, August 4, 1901. Next year, on April 17, the Vestry of St. Paul's voted for union with the Province under the "Special Trusts" Resolution of the Provincial Synod of 1883, and making certain conditions which were easily conceded.

Only one difficulty now remained. Since Dr. Colenso's death in 1883, the properties of which he had been Trustee or else administrator, had been, to use the corresponding English expression, "in Chancery"; and the Supreme Court of Natal had placed them in the hands of Curators, pending a legal declaration of their ownership. In 1903 the new Bishop promoted a Bill in the Natal Parliament, which, had it been carried in its original form, would have simply conveyed these properties to the now united Church, vesting them in a Board of Trustees on behalf of the Diocese. Into this Bill, however, the Select Committee of the House of Assembly introduced a clause, intended to be conciliatory, but providing that the Bill, on becoming an Act, should still remain inoperative so long as the Third Proviso should be unrepealed. If the Bill had passed coupled with such a reservation, the Provincial Synod, as representing the Church of the whole Province, would have been confronted by an extremely awkward dilemma. It would have been obliged either to rescind, however reluctantly, the Third Proviso, or else, by refusing to rescind, to take up the very invidious position of seeming to block the way to peace and settlement in the Diocese of Natal. But even this additional clause, and even an eloquent speech at the Bar of the House by the Bishop of Natal, proved of no avail. The Bill was rejected, chiefly owing to the persistence of certain opponents outside the House.

By its rejection the Bishop was *ipso facto* released from two conditional promises, viz. that he would himself introduce into the Natal Diocesan Synod a Resolution in favour of the abolition of the Proviso, and that, in the event of the passing of this Resolution, he would be responsible for the submission of a similar Resolution to the Provincial

Synod next year. He thought it right, nevertheless, to persevere, and to proceed with both proposals. The Natal Diocesan Synod passed the Resolution he laid before it; and in the Provincial Synod, which met at Capetown in January 1904, the abolition of the Third Proviso was moved by *Colonel E. M. Greene, K.C.*, a son of the venerable Dean of Maritzburg. The argument of Colonel Greene and of the majority of the Representatives of the Diocese of Natal, who were his supporters, was that the Proviso had served its purpose, was now no longer needed, and might, therefore, be safely abolished. While it remained, it would be a perpetual bone of contention and a cause of misunderstanding. Its abolition, indeed, was happily not required in the interests of union in Natal, for that had been already achieved; but was eminently desirable for the sake of facilitating legislation which might restore the old Church properties to their proper use. On the other hand, its abolition would involve no risk at all; for no secular Court in South Africa would go into the merits of any ecclesiastical case decided by the Tribunals of the Church. Such a Court would only ask whether the rules of the Voluntary Association, known as the Church of the Province of South Africa, had been duly observed. And the Privy Council in England would do just the same.

The debate, which had begun in the forenoon on Monday, February 1, was conducted throughout in the best and most amicable spirit. It occupied the whole of Monday, and was adjourned until the next day. After mid-day on Tuesday, February 2, the *Archbishop of Capetown*¹ rose and put it to the Synod that the time had now arrived when it was desirable to close the debate.

"There have been," he said, "twenty-six speakers in all; eleven in favour of the motion, fifteen against it. I think the time has now come that I should state my own view, and that then, after Colonel Greene has exercised his right of reply, the vote should be taken. I wish to express my own feelings, and what I believe to be the feelings of every member of the Synod, on two points. First, if any of us decide to vote against the Resolution, it is not through

¹ Since July 1897, "*Archbishop of Capetown*" had become the title by which the Metropolitan of South Africa was most usually known. See p. 305.

any want of sympathy, or love, or consideration for the Diocese of Natal. Secondly, none can have failed to admire the speeches of Colonel Greene, the mover, and of the Bishop of Natal, the Archdeacon of Maritzburg,¹ and Mr. Douglas de Fenzi. If I venture to differ from them, it is because I hope, even at this late stage, to be able to show that the legal arguments used by Colonel Greene do not touch one, and that, to my mind, the most important consideration of all. Chancellor Espin hit the mark, when he asserted yesterday that the real question was, What precisely is the Doctrine which the Tribunals of the Church of the Province are to enforce, and what is the Discipline which they are to administer?

"Now, as regards this very crucial point, the supporters of the motion are in truth divided into three parties; and two of these parties are aiming at exactly contrary ends. First, there are those who urge the deletion of the Proviso, because they hope and believe its deletion would bring the Church of the Province under the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee. Secondly, there are those in Natal, and elsewhere, to whom the name of the Proviso is obnoxious, simply because to them it is a controversial byword. Thirdly, there are those, and amongst them the present Representatives of the Natal Diocese, who ask for its removal, just because they are assured that it is unnecessary as a protection against the Judicial Committee's decisions; but who say, as the mover of the Resolution himself has said, that if they thought its removal would let those decisions in, then they would vote for its retention. Though all three parties support the Resolution, the aims of the first and third of the three are obviously directly opposed to each other. The one party desires the decisions of the Judicial Committee to be binding on the Church of the Province; the other does not.

"I quite agree with Colonel Greene's contention that, if the decisions of a Church Court of the Province were brought before the Civil Courts, the latter would take cognizance of one question only, namely, whether the Church Court, as a Board of Arbitrators, had acted in accordance with the regulations by which it is bound. But surely the Civil Courts would hold that the Constitution of the Province stood at the head of such regulations. That Constitution declares that the Church of the Province 'receives the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline of Christ according as the Church of England has set forth the same in its Standards of Faith and Doctrine.' But the Third Proviso safeguards this comprehensive statement by one limitation. And it is a happy thing that it does. For in the Judgement in the 'Grahamstown case' the Judicial Committee maintained that the Standards of the Church of England

¹ The Ven. Joseph Barker, D.D., afterwards in 1906 Dean of Maritzburg.

are not merely to be found in the texts of those Standards, but also in their own decisions as interpreting those Standards. After the removal of the Proviso, therefore, the Civil Courts, so long as the Grahamstown Judgement stands, would be acting within their sphere if they were to include in the rules and regulations binding on a Court of the Province, the obligation to give its own Judgements in accordance with those decisions of the Judicial Committee.

"To remove the Proviso from the Constitution would be to remove the very clause which is a safeguard, a bulwark, a veritable 'sheet-anchor,' however much some may dislike the phrase, of the Church's rights. Its removal would give the Civil Courts greater authority to act as I have described. The Courts might then reasonably say: 'You possessed a clause which in terms excluded your Provincial Tribunals from the obligation to be bound by the decisions of other Tribunals in matters of Faith and Doctrine. This clause you yourselves abrogated deliberately, and knowing what had been declared in regard to the decisions of the Judicial Committee. Therefore you must be considered to be bound by those decisions.' I believe that I have thus proved up to the very hilt, that the Proviso is still necessary; though Colonel Greene and Mr. de Fenzi in their arguments have laid so much stress upon their contention that it is now a quite unnecessary thing.

"It has been argued indeed that since the Archbishop of Canterbury¹ in the 'Lincoln case' has traversed the rulings of the Judicial Committee, we South African Bishops, even after the abolition of the Proviso, could do the same. But the Archbishop of Canterbury was not in the same position as we should then be. The Church in England has never formally accepted, and has repeatedly protested against, the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee. We, it is now proposed, are of our own free will to put ourselves under it. Moreover, the decisions which the Archbishop of Canterbury put aside were those of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council *in ecclesiastical causes*, before which particular Court the Archbishop, of course, knew that his own Judgement would, on appeal, come up for review. There would then be an opportunity for that Court to reconsider and to modify its own previous decisions; as, indeed, it actually did. But the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council *in ecclesiastical causes* is not a Court to which the Church of South Africa has any access whatever. The Church of South Africa, therefore, is being asked to accept the decisions of a Court before which it has no opportunity of pleading, and whose decisions it cannot influence, a Court before which only causes relating to the Church of England, *i.e.* the two Provinces of Canterbury and York, can possibly come. There seems to be a grave misconception in

¹ Dr. Benson. See pp. 206, 207 above.

the minds of some members of Synod, and a confusion between the two distinct Courts of the Privy Council. The one—the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *ecclesiastical causes*—is open only to the Church of England as by law established in England itself. The other—the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *property cases*—is open to any subject in the whole Empire. But the latter is a purely secular Court, and deals with questions of property pure and simple, or cases in which questions of property are involved.

“Whilst in England in 1882, not long before the Provincial Synod of 1883, I had a consultation with several eminent barristers. These included Sir Horace Davey and Sir Walter Phillimore, who had been counsel on opposite sides in the Grahamstown case. Two others were Sir Francis Jeune and Mr. Muir Mackenzie. The first three were unanimous in holding that the expunging of the Proviso would admit the Judicial Committee’s decisions. Mr. Mackenzie differed from these three, but not decidedly. The Synod has just heard that in England Mr. G. J. Talbot, K.C., supports Colonel Greene’s view, which is also that of another K.C. in Natal. But news now comes that a third K.C. in Natal, whose judgement is of equal weight with the last, has given an opinion in the contrary direction. The balance of legal opinion, therefore, is clearly in favour of the retention of the Proviso.

“The reason why the South African Church needs a Proviso, whilst other Colonial Churches do without such a clause, is this. The South African Church has accepted the Standards and Formularies of the Church of England *en bloc*. Other Colonial Churches have adopted a different method, a method of selection. But they have guarded themselves just as effectively; for they specify those particular Standards and Formularies which, and which only, they accept, and amongst which, of course, the Judicial Committee’s decisions are not included.

“In conclusion, I must say that I do not regret those words of the Bishop of Grahamstown, which others have stigmatized as a threat. The Bishop said in the course of his speech that many of the Clergy in the Diocese of Grahamstown and elsewhere, have been induced to come out to South Africa, partly by that complete freedom from the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is guaranteed to them by the Proviso; and that, in the event of its deletion, they would have to reconsider their position. I too have come out under conditions of freedom from those decisions, and if I found myself seriously hampered by them, as in the event of the deletion of the Proviso I should probably be, I myself should have to reconsider my own position in the Church.”

In the course of his reply *Colonel Greene* said the subject

had been "fairly and dispassionately argued." And he added two memorable sentences :

We have got all that we have asked for, so far as a fair hearing is concerned. Our duty, as loyal members of the Province, is now to accept the decision of the Synod.

The Archbishop then pointed out that there was no question here of "High Church" or "Low Church." Members of the Synod had only to decide whether they were prepared to allow the decisions of the Judicial Committee to be binding upon the Church Courts in the Province of South Africa. On a vote taken by Orders, the result in the House of the Laity was : for the motion to repeal the Proviso, 6 ; against, 17. The motion was, therefore, rejected by the Laymen, and never reached either the House of the Clergy or the House of the Bishops.

There could be but one opinion as to the immense effect of the Archbishop's speech.¹ The Laity especially listened with rapt attention and in the deepest silence, and one looked at another, as much as to say, "I never saw the matter in that light before." The voting itself, which had been expected to be very close indeed, shows how completely the weight of his arguments had turned the scales. But perhaps one little incident is still more significant. Immediately afterwards, one of the Lay Representatives for Natal came up to the President's table, and, leaning across it, said to the Archbishop, "I voted for the Resolution, but I am so very glad we did not carry it."

Another Lay Representative from a different Diocese was ill, as he himself knew, of an incurable complaint, and that day was one of his worst, and for twenty-four hours he could not swallow so much as a drop of water. But so firmly convinced was he of the supreme importance of the retention of the Proviso, that he insisted on coming, "if only to record his vote." It was his last act of service to the Church, for he died in the course of the following month.

The effect produced in Natal by this keen yet good-tempered debate was excellent. Those who belonged to the Diocese of Natal took the defeat of their proposal in the

¹ By a curious coincidence it was exactly twenty-one years that very day since his speech on the same subject in the great debate in the Provincial Synod of 1883.



Photo Peters, Capetown.

SIXTH PROVINCIAL SYNOD, A.D. 1904.

Alp. of Capetown (West Jones).
 Pretoria (Carter).
 Coadj. of Capetown (Gibson).
 Natal (Baines).
 Bloemfontein (Chandler)
 Lebombho (Smyth).
 Mashonaland (Gaul).
 St. Helena (Holmes).
 St. John's, Kaffraria (Williams).
 Zululand (Vyvyan).

loyal manner which Colonel Greene had commended to them; and even those who held aloof from Diocese and Province could not be otherwise than favourably impressed by the friendliness and consideration which had been manifested throughout. It is not too much to say that, apart from this debate, Natal would not have been ready to give so cordial a welcome to the "Mission of Help" later on in this same year, and that the missionaries themselves would have been much less successful in the removal of personal prejudices against the Church of the Province. The course taken by this discussion had made it absolutely clear that the retention of the Proviso by the Church of the Province was due entirely to conscientious principle, and not to the prevalence of any obstinate or unconciliatory spirit.

The recognition of this fact also helped, in its turn, to facilitate the final settlement which ended the Natal troubles just six years later, nearly two years after Dr. West Jones, the Archbishop who had presided at the Provincial Synod of 1904, had gone to his rest. For in January 1910, after many difficulties and delays, and in spite of much opposition, a Bill promoted by the Bishop of Natal passed the Natal Parliament, receiving the Governor's consent on February 7 as the "Church Properties Act." By this Act "the Right Reverend Frederick Samuel Baines, D.D., Bishop of the English Church in Natal, and his successors in the See of Natal, and the Diocesan Trustees of the Diocese of Natal for the time being," are created trustees of the old Church properties, of which Dr. Colenso had been "registered proprietor," *i.e.* all those properties of which he had been either trustee or administrator. Pensions for life are given to Dr. Colenso's daughters, and likewise to all persons who on May 1, 1909, were employed in Native Mission work upon any of the properties scheduled. The rights of certain particular Churches are also carefully guarded, and it is provided, *inter alia*, that :

(1) The vestries of the Churches so specified shall have the right of veto in respect of the appointment of their Ministers.

(2) In the conduct of the Services held in the Churches so specified nothing shall be required which cannot be required in the Church of England as by Law established in England.¹

¹ Taken from the "Special Trusts" Resolution of the Provincial Synod of 1883.

(3) No statement of doctrine shall be required from the Clergy ministering in the Churches so specified, which cannot be required in the Church of England as by Law established.¹

One church in Durban, namely Christ Church, Addington, which had not chosen to join the church of the Province, St. Mary's Native Church in Pietermaritzburg, and a Native School-Chapel in Durban, are left independent, and in control of their own properties, arrangements being made for their coming under the operation of the Act ; but only if the congregations should themselves desire it.

This Act was not passed without a dramatic episode. The Select Committee, to which the House of Assembly had referred the Bill, proposed to add two new clauses. The Bishop of Natal saw at least two very serious objections to one of them, namely Clause 8.² But he hoped that it might be covered by the "Special Trusts" Resolution of the Provincial Synod of 1883, coupled with Resolution 12 of 1909, and thought that, in the interests of peace and progress in his Diocese, he might agree to it ; although, as he said himself, "in so agreeing, I was aware that I was stretching the Constitution and the Resolutions of the Provincial Synod to the utmost." Yet the clause had been put forward by the Select Committee in good faith, and in the hope that it would help towards a permanent settlement ; and some settlement, even if defective, which would assign the control of the properties to duly responsible persons, seemed, for certain exceedingly grave reasons, absolutely imperative. Further, Dr. Carter, Archbishop of Capetown, who had been kept fully informed of the negotiations, and, in particular, of this clause, had not hitherto instructed him to withhold his

¹ Taken from Resolution 12 of the Provincial Synod of 1909.

² "8. If any habitual worshipper in any Church scheduled in this Act, or in any Church or Chapel built, or to be built, upon any of the property scheduled in this Act, or in any Church or Chapel benefited out of the properties or funds affected by this Act, shall feel aggrieved by the doctrine or ritual in such Church or Chapel, on the ground that it is contrary to the law of the Church of England in England, such worshipper shall be entitled to access to the Supreme Court of Natal, which shall have jurisdiction to decide whether or not the law of the Church of England has been so transgressed ; and if such Court shall decide that the law of the Church of England has been so transgressed, the Trustee shall either cause the Clergy of the Church or Chapel concerned, or the person officiating therein, to conform to the law, or shall cause such Clergy or other person and the Congregation of such Church or Chapel to withdraw from it, and in that case such Church or Chapel shall cease to be used for the purposes of the Church of the Province of South Africa."

assent ; and the opportunity of legislation, if lost, might be lost for ever, for under the approaching Union of South Africa the existence of the Natal Parliament would terminate, and no one knew what might then happen.

Dr. Carter, however, after careful consideration and consultation with legal advisers and others, came to the conclusion that to assent to Clause 8 would certainly be to exceed the powers which the Resolution of 1883 had conferred upon the Bishops of the Province. In effect, indeed, the clause would have nullified the Proviso immediately in regard to a few scheduled churches not under trusts necessitating any such course ; and prospectively in regard to numerous other churches built already or to be built hereafter. Ultimately, perhaps, it might even have placed the whole Diocese of Natal outside the protection of the Proviso, if any money derived from these properties had ever been applied, as it reasonably might have been, to some general Diocesan purpose. The Archbishop, therefore, telegraphed to the Bishop of Natal, requiring, as Metropolitan, that he should decline to accept trusteeship under the conditions laid down in this clause. In his speech on January 11, at the Bar of the Legislative Assembly, the Bishop candidly explained the position. He said that in writing out the notes he had made for his speech, he had just reached those which dealt with this very clause, when he received the Archbishop's message, which came as a great disappointment and as a terrible blow. Yet, after all, as a man under authority, if the Archbishop, his superior, should hold to this view, an obligation of obedience as well as of affection forbade him to assent to the clause. That clause, however, had not formed part of the original Bill, and had not commended itself to the opponents of the Bill, for whose sake solely it had been introduced ; and therefore he suggested to the House of Assembly that, in their discretion, they might see fit to omit it. The House, which had been much impressed by the Bishop's reasonable and conciliatory speech, did omit it, and the Bill finally passed in this much more satisfactory form, *i.e.* without that clause.

Thus the long-lost Church properties have been restored to their true use ; and thus at last a joyful end has come

to a sad and weary chapter in South African Church history.

For the results of the Act are entirely satisfactory. A duly constituted "Anglican Church Trust Board" now administers the properties. Under their care, churches have been enlarged, which needed enlargement years ago, but which could not be touched so long as there were no legal trustees; new churches and schools are being provided on Church lands in certain native districts, where missionary work has heretofore been at a standstill; and living agents are being gradually supplied, wherever required. Above all, nothing now remains to disturb the future concord of the Church in Natal.

In the Providence of God, this final settlement is mainly due to the present Bishop of Natal, Dr. Frederick Baines. No such scheme of pacification would have had any chance whatever of passing through Parliament, but for the patient perseverance and charity by which he had won universal respect, and had even rallied to his side some who had been previously antagonists. During nearly nine years, that is, ever since he became Bishop in 1901, he had worked indefatigably to remove the last remaining cause of irritation and disunion. The whole Province of South Africa rejoices with him, that he has seen the fruit of his unselfish labours, and that through his hands God has granted to the long troubled Diocese of Natal the unspeakable blessing of perfect peace—*Laus Deo.*

PART IV.—CHAPTERS XXXVI.—XLVIII.

1883—1898

GROWTH OF THE CHURCH THROUGHOUT THE
PROVINCE, AND EXTENSION BY NEW DIO-
CESES—MASHONALAND ALONG THE ZAMBESI
RIVER, LEBOMBO ALONG THE SHORE OF THE
INDIAN OCEAN

“She stretched out her branches unto the Sea :
And her boughs unto the River.”

CHAPTER XXXVI

Journey to Umtata, 1883—Consecration of Coadjutor Bishop of St. John's—Visits to St. Matthew's, Keiskama Hoek; Lovedale; Alice—Ordination at Grahamstown—Detention by an accident—Meeting with Dr. Webb at Grahamstown—Return to Bishopscourt—Youngest son born—Death of a sister in England.

THE year 1883, already memorable for the important Provincial Synod described in Chapter XXVIII., and for the election of Dr. Webb, Bishop of Bloemfontein, to the See of Grahamstown, was also marked by the Consecration of the Rev. Bransby Lewis Key, a very able Missionary and a first-rate linguist, who had been elected Coadjutor Bishop to Dr. Callaway, Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria.

It was settled that the Consecration should be at Umtata in Kaffraria, on Sunday August 12, and on July 31 the Metropolitan started on his journey thither, accompanied by the Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, Missionary Canon of Capetown. He went by sea from Capetown to Port Elizabeth, where, when he landed, a deputation from the various Parishes of the town presented an address to him expressing a loyalty to the Church of the Province, which he found most cheering. Here too, as the See of Grahamstown was still vacant, he confirmed the same evening nearly 160 candidates, including many aged persons, and also several natives, who were brought by a native Deacon. Next day, Friday, August 3, he left by train for Grahamstown, and arrived at 5.30 P.M. after a tedious, hot, and dusty journey. From Grahamstown, where the Rev. R. J. Mullins¹ joined him,

¹ The Rev. R. J. Mullins, who in this year, 1883, became Canon of Grahamstown, was one of the pioneer Missionaries of the English Church in South Africa. He came out from England in 1854, and served for some years as Catechist under the Rev. H. T. Waters, afterwards Archdeacon of St. Mark's. Ordained in 1863, he was Principal of the Kafir Training Institute at Grahamstown from 1864 to 1907, and was also from 1864 till his death in 1913 a most efficient Diocesan Secretary and Treasurer.

the journey on Saturday to King William's Town was one of $12\frac{1}{2}$ hours by Cape cart, with five changes of horses on the way. On Sunday, August 5, he was the preacher in the Parish Church of King William's Town in the morning, and again in All Saints' Church in the evening. Leaving by train early on Monday for Imvani, he arrived after eight hours' travelling, was met by the Archdeacon of St. Mark's, the Ven. H. T. Waters, and drove with him by way of Bolotwa Mission Station to St. Mark's. Here on Tuesday at the early Eucharist about twenty natives communicated, about thirty others were present, and the native Priest assisting was the Rev. Petrus Masiza, afterwards Canon of St. John's Cathedral, Umtata, the first of the Bantu race to be ordained Priest, and the first to attain the dignity of Canon. At 9.30 A.M. the Metropolitan and the Archdeacon left in one Cape cart, and Canon Lightfoot and Mr. Mullins in another. That night they reached the Tsomo River, and on Wednesday Engcobo, where the others went to stay at Mr. Stanford's house, the Metropolitan and the Archdeacon going on to All Saints' Mission, then in charge of the Rev. T. W. Green—"a beautiful spot, near wooded hills, where is plenty of water, and a well-planted garden. This Mission was destroyed in the war in 1880, and is not yet rebuilt." On Thursday, after Service in a little hut used as a school-chapel, they continued their journey, arriving about mid-day at the Bashee River, and meeting there the ox-cart conveying the Rev. H. M. Waters and his family, also on their way to Umtata. At 4 P.M. they were at Baziya, a Moravian Mission, the Brethren in charge of which, as Canon Lightfoot says, "received us, as Moravians always do, with true open-hearted hospitality, although we were rather a large party to pounce suddenly on them." This Mission station had also been destroyed by the Tembus in November 1880. The travellers awoke on Friday to find the mountains all round them capped with snow, and the air very keen. About six miles from Umtata they met a body of horsemen with Major Elliott, C.M.G., the Chief Magistrate, at their head, and three or four carts containing other persons, who had also come out from Umtata to greet and welcome the Metropolitan. An address read by the Rev. A. G. S.

Gibson, then Priest-in-charge of St. James's, Umtata, and subsequently Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, mentioned that this was the first time a Metropolitan of the Province had visited the Native Territories since their formation into a Diocese, although the first Metropolitan, Robert Gray, had traversed the country in 1850 in the course of one of the long journeys of his early Episcopate.

The next day, Saturday, was wet and bitterly cold, the snow lying thick upon the mountains. The Metropolitan, and the three Bishops of St. John's, Maritzburg, and Zululand, who had all arrived in Umtata for the Consecration, sat in Conference, the Bishop-Elect being also present, and discussed matters relating to the Consecration on the morrow, and to the state of things in Natal consequent on the death of Bishop Colenso.

Sunday, August 12, was a bright and beautiful day, in agreeable contrast with the rain and cold of Saturday. "The sun shone out in full splendour, lighting up the distant mountain-tops still wreathed with snow." The Consecration Service may be best described by an account condensed from the *Umtata Herald*.

The Church of St. James, which was used because larger than the Pro-Cathedral, was very full, quite 400 being present, and a number of places being reserved for the native congregation. The choir, strengthened by the native choir from the Pro-Cathedral of St. John's, entered at the West door, singing, "The Church's One Foundation." In the procession there were four Deacons (three of them natives), five other Priests, and the two Archdeacons of the Diocese of St. John's; three Priests of the Diocese of Grahamstown, the Revs. C. F. Patten, R. J. Mullins, and Canon H. R. Woodrooffe; and one Priest of the Diocese of Capetown, Canon Lightfoot. Each of the three Bishops, and the Bishop-Elect also, was preceded by a Chaplain, and the Rev. J. Bean carried the Metropolitan Cross before the Metropolitan, who was followed by Canon Lightfoot and the Rev. R. J. Mullins as his Chaplains.

The Metropolitan began the Communion Service in a full, melodious voice; the Bishop of the Diocese and the Bishop of Maritzburg presented the Bishop-Elect; the senior Archdeacon administered the oath; and the solemn laying on of hands completed the Consecration. It was a Service and a sight not soon to be forgotten—those five commanding forms, scarlet-robed, in the sanctuary of the little city in the wilderness: one the Metropolitan of this vast Province; one

the aged Diocesan, so long known, so well loved ; and one, strong and young, now to take up and bear the burden which is ready to fall from the shoulders that for ten hard years have borne it so sturdily. And of the others, one the Bishop of that neighbouring Diocese, so long torn and harassed by heresy and schism ; and one, whose Pro-Cathedral stands at Isandhlwana, a memorial to the fallen on the fatal field of 1879, and a message of peace to those who slew them there. The Sermon was preached by Canon Lightfoot, who in earnest and affectionate language dwelt on the close connexion between the Pastoral Commission and Love, taking his text from St. John xxi. 17. There were 84 Communicants, European and native, fitly representing the Church of the Province in its twofold work. The robes and pastoral staff of the new Bishop are those which belonged to the late Dr. Merriman, Bishop of Grahamstown.

In the afternoon the Bishop of Zululand preached in the Pro-Cathedral in their own language to a large native congregation, who sang hymns, psalms, and canticles with great fervour. Many of the Wesleyan congregation at Umtata attended the Service in the morning at St. James's Church, and many were present also in the evening, when the Metropolitan, who was the preacher, earnestly and eloquently urged all Christians to cling to their faith in the Divinity of our Lord, the point round which the struggle with infidelity was growing fierce and deadly.

On Monday the Metropolitan inspected the schools and the workshops under the charge of the Rev. W. M. Cameron, which he described as "all in excellent order." He also visited the fine Falls on the Umtata River, 80 to 90 feet high, and was present at a public luncheon. In the afternoon the Bishops received and replied to an address from the native people, and, by the desire of the Bishop of Zululand, held a conference on questions connected with Missionary work. In the evening there was a *conversazione* in the theatre. Major Elliott, the Chief Magistrate, in the name of the people of Umtata welcomed the Bishops and the visitors. The Bishops of Maritzburg and Zululand spoke, and the Metropolitan in the course of his speech, as the *Umtata Herald* records,

. . . thanked the people of Umtata for their most kind and cordial reception of their visitors, and expressed his surprise and great gratification at the advancement of the town, the Church, and the Schools, and especially at the large number of Communicants. His Lordship spoke most feelingly of Dr. Callaway (whose health did not admit of his being present that evening), as a personal friend of his own, as

the first Bishop of our Diocese, and as the founder—in a great measure—of the city of Umtata.¹

On Tuesday, August 14, the Metropolitan left on his homeward journey with three companions, Canon Lightfoot, the Archdeacon of St. Mark's, and the Rev. R. J. Mullins. In the evening they reached Baziya, and Canon Lightfoot says :

At sunset the mist that played round the crest of the Baziya mountain was lighted up into a most brilliant rose colour—a perfect transformation scene. The Moravian Brethren again most heartily welcomed us. It was pleasing in the evening to witness the delighted enthusiasm of the Brethren whilst the Metropolitan graphically described the beauties of the Alps, which he visited last year, and which to them are home.

They arrived at St. Mark's on Friday evening, and spent there the next two days. On Sunday, August 19, the Metropolitan gave the Absolution and Benediction at the Kafir Eucharist, and preached (through an interpreter) to the native congregation at 9.30, and again at 11.30 to an English congregation of about sixty, including some twenty belonging to the Cape Mounted Rifles. On Monday, leaving at 5 A.M. with Canon Lightfoot, he drove to Imvani, went thence by train to Dohne, and thence by Cape cart through extremely beautiful and romantic country to St. Matthew's, Keiskama Hoek, an industrial Mission under the Rev. (now Canon) Charles Taberer, who had been since 1870, as he still is in 1913, in charge of the same Mission. On his arrival he received a very warm welcome from Mr. and Mrs. Taberer, and the following day he visited the buildings of the institution in which

. . . three trades are carried on, carpentering, waggon-making, and tin-smithing, the last of these appearing to be remarkably well organized. The Schools, both for boys and for girls, are well attended. The former is conducted in an excellent school-room, part of a large new building containing hall, dormitories, and kitchen. The whole Institution struck me as admirably managed, and it bears an excellent name everywhere.

¹ Where Umtata now stands, there was but a single cottage when Dr. Callaway moved his headquarters thither from St. John's River in the year 1877.

On his departure, Mr. Taberer accompanied him as far as the Booma Pass, where the English forces met with stout resistance, and lost heavily, in the Kafir War of 1851. He reached Alice that night, and next day visited the famous Presbyterian Missionary Institution at Lovedale, of which Dr. Stewart was the Principal, with about 400 students under his care. The industrial department for carpentering, waggon-making, and printing he did not think equal to that at Keiskama Hoek ; but the educational department seemed to him undoubtedly superior, alike in arrangement and in buildings, to anything he had yet seen in South Africa. The weekly prayer-meeting was held at midday, when he spoke, by Dr. Stewart's invitation, to some 300 persons on the words, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" He then returned to Alice in Dr. Stewart's own carriage, and preached there that night to an overflowing congregation. On Thursday he reached Grahamstown once more. On Sunday, August 26, he ordained in Christ Church a Priest and two Deacons, one of whom, the Rev. C. E. Mayo, has served St. Mary's Church, Port Elizabeth, ever since, and became, five years later, its Precentor. He also confirmed fifteen candidates in the same Church in the afternoon, and preached there in the evening.

A strange accident happened to him on Monday as he was on the point of leaving for Port Elizabeth. In mounting his horse he sprang up so vigorously that he overbalanced himself, and fell on the off side of the horse, breaking the radius bone of his right arm, which became so swollen that it could not be set till evening, giving him intense pain, and delaying his departure for some days. But he was thus able to confer, a week later, upon the position of things in Natal with Dr. Webb, the new Bishop of Grahamstown, and also with some of the clergy of the Grahamstown Diocese ; and to be present at two delightful meetings of welcome to the Bishop, one in the Town Hall, and the other on the following day in Port Elizabeth. Thence he sailed for Capetown, and arrived on Sunday, September 9, after an absence of just forty days.

Both joy and sorrow awaited him in the first half of the next year ; for on January 24 his youngest son was born,

and some months later one of his sisters, Miss Ellen Jones, died in England, after intense and prolonged suffering borne with a noble patience and cheerfulness. She had always taken the keenest interest in her brother's Diocese, although she had never visited it, and, in particular, she had contributed largely to his "Malay Mission Fund," and she left a small legacy to be used for that Mission, or for any other Diocesan object, at his discretion. He felt her loss very deeply, for she had endeared herself to him, as indeed to all the rest of her family, by her remarkable self-devotion, and by her peculiarly sweet disposition and saintly character.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Three anxious years, 1884 to 1886—A droll cricket match—First Jubilee of Queen Victoria, 1887—Building of St. Mark's, Capetown—Eighth Diocesan Synod of Capetown and Scheme for New Cathedral—Metropolitan seriously out of health—Enforced holiday at Ceres.

DIOCESAN cares were specially numerous and harassing in the three years from the first days of 1884 to the end of 1886.

It was during this period that the great constitutional question was being fought out in the Capetown Diocese itself, and the Metropolitan's strength and energies were taxed to the utmost.

He had also cause for much anxiety in regard to the Diocesan College at Rondebosch. For when, in 1885, Canon Ogilvie was appointed Rector of Rondebosch parish, and resigned the Principalship of the College, great difficulty was found in filling his place, and his immediate successor remained but a very short time. The College only regained its stability in 1887, when the Rev. R. Brooke, afterwards Archdeacon of the Cape, became Principal.

There was trouble also about the general financial position of the Diocese. In the very midst of the great effort to raise money to build the House of Mercy, came a notice from the S.P.G., which four years ago had reduced its yearly grant to the Diocese by £500, that in 1886 another reduction would have to be made of no less than £400 per annum. The Metropolitan's Pastoral Letter to the Diocese, by which he had endeavoured year by year to stir up the members of the Church to make good the first withdrawal of £500, had lately only brought in about £200, leaving an annual deficit of £300, which would now be increased by the new withdrawal of £400 to no less than £700 a year. He him-

self described the position thus created in the following terms :

Already we have had to abandon some smaller works. We cannot reduce stipends any more without starving. And the only thing to do, unless fresh aid comes, will be to give notice to some of our Clergy and teachers, and to close more of our mission stations and parishes, so rendering fruitless the work of many years, and casting our people back into heathenism. A Committee of the Diocesan Finance Commission is now considering whether any plan can be devised for raising fresh funds in this Diocese ; but I am persuaded little more can be done in this way. Will it become necessary for myself, or for some Clergyman of the Diocese, to go home to make another special appeal ? How I do hate this constant cry for "money, money" for Christ's Work ! But one can do nothing without it.

A touch of humour enlivened the perplexities of these anxious times. On November 16, 1886, he says :

Last Saturday we had a droll cricket match. Eleven of the Dutch Ministers, now in Synod, against eleven of our Clergy. And fancy Peters, Ogilvie, and Lawrence playing !¹ They had ninety to choose from, we only twenty ; and we got awfully beaten in the first innings, though we did well in the second. But the match did good, and the Dutchmen greatly liked the intercourse, and the lunch in the Diocesan College Hall.

In the festivities which attended the celebration of the first Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887 the Metropolitan took his part with that personal loyalty to the great Queen which always distinguished him. On Monday, June 20, he wrote :

All our Church Schools met to-day in the Cathedral grounds, and, with banners flying, marched together up the Avenue to the garden gates of Government House. 5500 children took part in the demonstration. All religious denominations sent contingents. There were great numbers of Malay children amongst the rest. The Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, addressed them.

In the afternoon the Metropolitan himself spoke to the children in the Capetown School of Industry, and in the evening attended "a kind of patriotic concert in Claremont

¹ The first two were already Canons of Capetown Cathedral. All three of these veterans of 1886 are happily with us in 1913. One of them is still engaged in active parish work, and another has only resigned his parish in the present year.

Town Hall." The following day, June 21, at a great Jubilee Service at the Cathedral, the Metropolitan was the preacher.

The Governor, the Admiral, and the General were present with their respective Staffs; the Chief Justice and the Speaker attended in state, with many members of both Houses of Parliament; and there was an enormous congregation. The Service was a grand one, with "God save the Queen" as the Governor entered. Before the Sermon the Coronation Anthem was sung, and after it the Hallelujah Chorus. The Form of Service was that specially drawn up by the Archbishop of Canterbury. We then drove to the Green Point Common for the Review, at which there were 3000 troops of all arms, including Volunteers, Cadets, Regulars, and Naval Brigade. After lunch we were present at the laying of the corner-stone of the pedestal for the Statue of the Queen, which is to stand in front of the Parliament Houses. The Governor, who laid the stone, made a most interesting speech on the progress of the Colony since the Queen's Accession in 1837. In the evening we went round the town, and the Parliament Houses, to see the illuminations. Government Avenue was beautifully lighted with thousands of Chinese lanterns. We drove back to Bishopscourt, and reached home about 11 P.M.

The Church of St. Mark's, Capetown, was built in this year as a Diocesan thankoffering for the Queen's long and happy reign. Its completion was immediately followed by what might have been a most terrible catastrophe. Just before the proposed Consecration, the roof and part of the walls collapsed; but after repairs and rebuilding, the Church was ultimately consecrated on April 7, 1888.

The Eighth Synod of the Diocese of Capetown, which sat from September 17 to October 5, 1887, passed a Resolution appointing a Standing Committee to collect funds for building a new Cathedral at Capetown, in the hope, which, however, was not fulfilled, that the Cathedral might be finished and consecrated in 1897, on the completion of the fiftieth year since the Consecration of the first Bishop of Capetown, Robert Gray.

For the five or six months preceding this Synod the Metropolitan had been so seriously out of health that his doctor had insisted that he must be relieved of some part of the great strain of presiding. Still he managed to take his

place most of the days, and during the discussion of all the important subjects. In obedience to the doctor's further commands, as soon as Synod was over, he appointed the Archdeacon of the Cape, the Ven. T. F. Lightfoot, to administer the Diocese, and went up country to the drier and more bracing climate on the borders of the Karoo, remaining at Ceres from October 27 till December 20, when he returned to Bishopscourt considerably reinvigorated.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Visit to England in 1888—Third Lambeth Conference—Paper at S.P.G. Meeting descriptive of the Province of South Africa—Sharp and dangerous attacks of illness—Return to the Cape, 1889—Enthusiastic welcome.

IN the Third Lambeth Conference, which met on July 3, 1888, the Metropolitan of South Africa was entrusted with the opening of the discussion on the "Mutual Relations of Dioceses and Branches of the Anglican Communion," a subject upon which his experience in his own Province specially qualified him to speak. A week after the opening of the Conference, at the great S.P.G. meeting on July 10, he read a paper which described, as the following passages show, the conditions under which the work of the Church was proceeding in the different South African Dioceses at that date :

"The little Diocese of St. Helena," he said, "has quite recently, under the guidance of its aged and revered Bishop, established Synodical action, which has proved most valuable in its results ; but the future of this Diocese is one of the most anxious subjects connected with the Province."

Here was a Diocese exceedingly poor and of very small area, yet communication with its outlying islands of Tristan da Cunha and Ascension was not less costly than it was difficult. The problem now was, how funds could be found sufficient for the maintenance of a Bishop, when, at the next vacancy, the Imperial Government would cease to give the Bishop any stipend as a Colonial Chaplain. After speaking of a doubt about the safety of Dr. Knight-Bruce, Bishop of Bloemfontein, who had gone up into Matabeleland on a pioneering Missionary expedition, he continued :

He may, I am sure, be thoroughly trusted to have ascertained the nature of the reception he would meet with from the King, Lobengula, and I greatly hope, and indeed believe, that he will induce him to allow a Mission to be planted in his territory by our Church. Should this be done, and should a new Missionary Diocese be formed for the region of Delagoa Bay, for which a very large nucleus of an endowment has been already raised through the energy of Bishop T. E. Wilkinson, two more links will have been formed in that chain, which will, I trust, soon bind together South and Central Africa. There is a sacred spot on the Shiré River which forms a kind of pilgrim's shrine for the travellers through those unhealthy regions. Upon it stands the cross which marks the saintly Mackenzie's resting-place; and this is where we may hope that the workers from our Province will join hands with our brethren of the Universities' Mission. The effort to win the numerous tribes of those wild lands to the dominion of Christ is a crusade worthy of the noblest sons of the Church and the bravest warriors of the Cross. May our Church's zeal never wax cold till the Missions from the South meet those from the North at Mackenzie's grave, and the banner of the Cross waves from every native village in the vast regions of Southern Central Africa.

In the same paper he alluded to the disturbances in Zululand, and to the destruction, for the third time within a few years, of the Mission station of Kwamagwaza (All Saints') in the Zululand Diocese; and he praised the energy of Dr. Macrorie, Bishop of Maritzburg, who was "not only pressing on his missionary work among the Zulus in Natal, but also making a brave and successful effort to bring under the shadow of the Cross the crowds of Indian coolies, who have of late years settled at Durban and in other parts of the Colony of Natal."

A few days after this S.P.G. meeting the Metropolitan was so very unwell that he was ordered complete rest, and had to cancel all his engagements, including promises to preach in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral, and for the S.P.G. in Quebec Chapel. Though he attended the second part of the Lambeth Conference at the end of July, another sharp attack of pain on the 26th necessitated his absence that day; but he returned on the 27th, and was present at the closing Service on the 28th. His recurring illness during this year sometimes involved real danger, and once—as is not infrequent in cases such as his—the pulsa-

tions of the heart actually ceased. But the danger passed, and he fully recovered.

He sailed on May 24, 1889, for the Cape, and was received with an enthusiastic welcome at his landing on June 13. After a Thanksgiving Service at Capetown Cathedral he drove out to Bishopscourt.

At Woodstock the children had collected to give us a welcome, but had dispersed owing to the long delay in our arrival. At Claremont Schools all the children were awaiting us outside the buildings with flags and greenery. We reached Bishopscourt about one o'clock, and were welcomed by the Vearys, Simons, and the cottagers. The courtyard was decorated with flags, and an arch of green mixed with flowers was erected before the door, and bore the word "Welcome." The children greeted us with "Home, sweet Home." It was a glad home-coming. Every one seemed pleased and happy to see us. The men were only prevented by the rain from taking the horses out at the entrance of the avenue, and drawing us home themselves! There were to have been illuminations with Chinese lanterns at night; but very heavy rain prevented this.

The illuminations followed, however, on the next evening. The Metropolitan was evidently deeply touched by this spontaneous manifestation of the affection of the people.

"The whole courtyard," he writes, "was lighted up with lanterns, and looked really beautiful. And all done by our own poor folk! I said a few words of thanks to them for their kindness."

There was a grand reception meeting in the Commercial Exchange in Capetown a few days later, when an address was presented signed by the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Diocese, and a sum of £1100 was handed to the Metropolitan. This large amount had been collected by way of celebrating his return, and to relieve his anxieties in the financial administration of the Diocese. It came at a most opportune time; for the Diocesan Fund, known as the "*I. General Purposes Fund*," to which the proposal was that he should devote it, was considerably overdrawn. He was very much cheered by this gift to him for the work of the Diocese, and wrote of it and of the spirit which it expressed, "God be praised for all the love I have received."

CHAPTER XXXIX

Proposed Mission to Northern Rhodesia—A fatal accident on St. Cyprian's Day, 1889—Failure of two Capetown Banks, 1890—South African Church Distress Fund—Origin of Women's Diocesan Association.

WITHIN six weeks after his return to the Cape the Metropolitan wrote to Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, in reference to a suggestion by Dr. Knight-Bruce, Bishop of Bloemfontein, for a strong English Church Mission in the great region lying north of the Zambesi, between that river and the Congo territory, *i.e.* in what is now named Northern Rhodesia.

There was, he said, every prospect of the grant of a Royal Charter to a Company in which Mr. C. J. Rhodes and Mr. C. D. Rudd were the leading spirits. They were now in England, and he had reason to think that Mr. Rhodes, and perhaps Mr. Rudd also, might be disposed to co-operate in assisting such a Mission, particularly if the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to which they respectively belonged, were able and willing to make it a second "Universities' Mission" to this part of South Central Africa. Then, indeed, with the assistance of the Colonial Bishops' Council, and of the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., it might develop into a great and vigorous work.

"A second great Christian crusade into the strongholds of heathendom in the heart of Africa would be," he said, "a splendid effort for the closing years of this century. A Bishop with six Priests, some earnest and vigorous lay brethren and some Sisters, or other lady workers, could do a grand work for our Lord in that land, which is now lying so utterly in darkness."

At the time nothing came of this proposal. The expected Royal Charter was, indeed, granted at the end of August.

But the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had too much to do already in the support of the existing "Universities' Mission" to be able to undertake another; and Mr. Rhodes had left England before the Archbishop of Canterbury received the Metropolitan's letter. And the Metropolitan found, on meeting him in Capetown as he passed through to the north, that Mr. Rhodes himself, while in favour of some Missionary work in this region, thought there was no room, as yet, for anything organized on a large scale. It is, however, interesting that the proposal, even though not carried out, should have been made so long ago as 1889. Not till 1910, twenty-one years later, was Northern Rhodesia constituted a Diocese, and, as such, added to the Dioceses of Zanzibar and Nyasaland, and included in the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

St. Cyprian's Day, September 26, was saddened by a terrible accident. Some of the girls of St. Cyprian's School had been confirmed recently, and on the Eve of St. Cyprian's Day the Metropolitan gave an address to the whole school at a Service in their own chapel. Next morning there was an early Eucharist in the chapel, at which all the newly confirmed made their First Communion. Then two Sisters of All Saints', Mary Agnes and Mary Pauline, with the head teacher of the school and five of the girls, started off to spend their Michaelmas holidays at Camps Bay, just outside Capetown. The horses in the waggonette took fright on the Camps Bay road, and the waggonette was overturned. Sister Mary Agnes and one of the girls, Edith Jones, died soon afterwards of their injuries. Another girl and Sister Mary Pauline were taken to hospital seriously hurt, but eventually recovered. This accident, however, called forth an extraordinary demonstration of sympathy both in Capetown and at the funeral in Claremont Churchyard. The Metropolitan, in whose house Sister Mary Pauline had been staying a week before, wrote thus of the consoling circumstances which had attended this sad event:

The effect on the public mind has been simply astonishing. And I do not know that it would have been possible for such an accident to occur at any time which would seem, even to human eyes, to have so much comfort in it. The school has been deeply in debt. But

we have just paid off all the heavy bills, with the help of a grant of £200 from the Association Fund, and with £100 from St. George's Home, to which amounts I added £50 from myself. The tradesmen have largely reduced their accounts, and the All Saints' Community in England has advanced the remainder. Thus Sister Mary Agnes had recently been relieved of a depressing burden on her mind. Then the Services just preceding, and the Guild meeting, had greatly cheered her, so that she started very happily on her way, not knowing that her work was already done. Dear little Edith Jones was a very sweet child and a general favourite. Her parents live at Kimberley.

Almost exactly a year after this accident, September 20, 1890, came a disaster which affected a very large number of persons. Two Capetown banks, the "Union" and the "Cape of Good Hope," stopped payment. In the latter there was an amount of Church money,—Provincial, Diocesan, and Parochial,—rather over £27,000 in all. Both banks had been considered by trustworthy business men perfectly safe, and indeed never need have closed their doors, if only a certain official had risen to the emergency. The crisis caused by the stoppage of these banks was a terrible one for the Church, in view of the ever-increasing demands upon her funds. Eventually, however, the larger part of the money was recovered from the Cape of Good Hope Bank itself, which paid over seventeen shillings in the pound. Meanwhile, in consequence of an appeal by the Metropolitan to the Church in England, a "South African Church Distress Fund" had been inaugurated. Owing to the vigorous work of Sir Henry Barkly,¹ formerly Governor of Cape Colony, and other friends of the South African Church, the response to this appeal was so generous, that the net loss of about £4000, representing the remaining three shillings in the pound, was somewhat more than made up,² the surplus being formed into a Protecting Fund to guard against a similar contingency in the future. But though the Church at home had thus aided the Church in South Africa to tide

¹ Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa from the beginning of 1871 to March 1877, died in October 1898 at the age of 83. Ever since 1874, when he welcomed the Metropolitan on his first arrival at the Cape, he had been one of his "best and staunchest friends."

² Mr. C. J. Rhodes appears to have contributed £1000 towards the loss incurred by the Diocese of Bloemfontein. The Metropolitan appealed to him on the ground that he had made all his money in that Diocese, in the Kimberley mines, and he acknowledged the claim.

over this difficult time, the temporary loss of interest was exceedingly serious, and more serious still was the permanent impoverishment of a large number of Church people. The Metropolitan enumerates in one letter about twenty Churchmen amongst the Cape merchants and leading men, who, like himself, had been very heavy losers; and, of course, none of these private losses were recouped by the Church Distress Fund. Thus the resources of the Church in the Diocese of Capetown were diminished for many a long year; one immediate result being that the attempt to raise money for a new Cathedral, as proposed by the Capetown Diocesan Synod in 1887, was indefinitely postponed, while the building of a new Home for the Sisterhood of All Saints' and for the schools under their charge—a very urgent matter—was greatly delayed, and made excessively difficult.

But God constantly brings good out of evil, and out of the crisis caused by the Bank failures sprang one of the most valuable organizations in the Capetown Diocese, the Women's Diocesan Association, commonly known by its initials as "the W.D.A." At this time the Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa was Sir Henry Loch, afterwards Lord Loch, who came out from England in December 1889 to succeed Sir Hercules Robinson. Sir Henry throughout his own term of office, and even after his return to England in 1895, always displayed a keen interest in the welfare of the South African Church, and Lady Loch, who had arrived at Capetown with him, was just as thorough and practical in her Churchmanship as her husband. She now proposed an association of women to collect funds for Church purposes, and in particular towards the present imminent deficit of £1720 on the year 1890, a deficit due partly to the Bank failures, partly to the diminution of the S.P.G. grant, and partly to other causes. A Committee of men under Sir Langham Dale, formed at the same time and for the same purpose, raised £720 in the first year, but it did not become a permanent institution. The Women's Diocesan Association, on the contrary, after raising £738 in the first year, has gone on with the same work ever since, and still remains a vigorous financial auxiliary of the Diocese.

CHAPTER XL

Visit of Rev. E. C. Dermer, 1890—A “Quiet Day”—Mission in South Africa conducted by Canons Bodington and Mason—Metropolitan’s return from Namaqualand by post-cart; a long and trying journey.

IN January of the year 1890 the Rev. E. C. Dermer, Fellow of St. John’s College, Oxford, and an intimate friend of the Metropolitan, came to spend a few weeks in South Africa, and advantage was taken of his coming to request him to conduct a “Quiet Day” at the Diocesan College, Rondebosch. This was attended by nearly twenty of the clergy, and the Metropolitan wrote of it afterwards as “a very happy day, and the addresses most excellent, full of beautiful thoughts.” In August began the first Mission, in the technical sense of a revival Mission, ever held in South Africa. It was, indeed, an important event in our Church history, and although on a much smaller scale than the great “Mission of Help” in 1904, it created a precedent for that later and more extensive enterprise. The Missioners, who arrived at the end of July, were the Rev. Charles Bodington, Canon of Lichfield; the Rev. George Edward Mason, Hon. Canon of Southwell; and the Rev. G. C. Grubb. After preliminary meetings and conferences at Capetown, they went up to Kimberley in the Diocese of Bloemfontein, where they worked for nine days. Then, returning to Capetown, they spent rather more than two months in the Cape Peninsula, conducting Parochial Missions in the four city parishes, and then in six parishes in the suburbs. Before they began their work in his own Diocese, the Metropolitan blessed each of the three Missioners at a solemn Reception Service in Capetown Cathedral. He

was present at some of the Mission Services before his departure for a sixteen days' visitation of Malmesbury and its out-stations ; at others after his return on October 10 ; and on October 21 at the great closing Service in the Cathedral.

About a week later he left by steamer for his visitation of Namaqualand. As the return of the little vessel *Nautilus* was delayed, and he had engagements awaiting him in Cape-town, he was compelled to come back by post-cart, a long and excessively trying journey of several days and nights. By starting from O'okiep on Monday morning, November 17, in one of the Cape Copper Company's carts with four horses, he was able to obtain a night's rest at Mr. Van Wyk's farm, going on next morning to Garies, with a mule lent by Mr. Van Wyk in place of one of the horses, which had sickened and died on Monday evening. Arriving at Garies an hour before midday, he remained there for nearly twelve hours, until, at 11 P.M., the post-cart from O'okiep came in, and took him on southwards, travelling all night without a rest for the horses until the morning outspan for breakfast at 5.30 A.M. At 2 P.M. there was another outspan at the Zout (Salt) River, where he and the driver obtained such shelter as was possible under the thorn trees, for the heat was intense. After another drive of five hours he arrived at Van Rhyn's Dorp at 7.30 P.M.

It had been a weary and most uninteresting day's journey. I supped with Mr. Van Rhyn, and left again at 8.30 P.M. by a different post-cart. Soon after midnight we reached Doorn (Thorn) River, which was flooded by last Sunday's rains. Happily there was a moon, though it was just about to set. It was no easy process to cross, and there was great work to get the cart into the boat. Then the horses were sent to swim the river, and at last we ourselves got off, and with some difficulty were rowed over. The driver took me for a cup of coffee to a very dirty cottage, containing one room only. Children were snoring here and there, and the atmosphere was very close. I was glad to drink my coffee and escape. I went down to the cart at the edge of the river, and waited an hour, till the horses had been fed, and we could start again. We travelled all night, reaching Clanwilliam about 6.30 A.M. on Thursday, just in time for 7 o'clock matins. Found my way to the Rectory and had breakfast, and at 9 A.M. left again by post-cart for Piquetberg Road station,

which I reached about 2 A.M. on Friday morning, November 21. The train arrived at Salt River at 7.30 A.M. My own Cape cart was waiting for me; and in less than an hour I was once more at Bishopscourt.

It was four days and four nights since he had left O'okiep; but he was not at all the worse for the fatigue of this rough and long journey.

CHAPTER XLI

Fourth Provincial Synod, 1891—Bishopric of Zululand : election of Rev. F. W. Puller, S.S.J.E.; then of Rev. W. M. Carter—Two visits to Bloemfontein Diocese—Consecration of Dr. Hicks as Bishop of Bloemfontein, 1892—Church House opened at Capetown—Coadjutor Bishopric and Elective Assembly—Rev. A. G. S. Gibson chosen Coadjutor Bishop.

THE Fourth Provincial Synod met at Capetown on January 24, 1891. In the Episcopal Synod immediately preceding it the Bishops passed three important Resolutions : one leaving absolutely in the hands of Dr. Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle, the choice of a Bishop for the See of Zululand, vacant since the death of Dr. Douglas McKenzie on January 9, 1890 ; a second, declaring themselves in favour of the appointment of a Coadjutor Bishop to relieve the Metropolitan of some of the work of his large Diocese ; a third, sanctioning the earnest desire of Dr. Knight-Bruce, Bishop of Bloemfontein, to resign his See in order to become the first Missionary Bishop of Mashonaland.

Before the Synod closed, the Bishops of the Province heard from the Bishop of Carlisle, that he no longer had hopes of finding anyone for the See of Zululand. The choice therefore reverted to them, and they elected unanimously the Rev. F. W. Puller, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist. Next day, when this election was reported to the Provincial Synod by the Metropolitan, it was "received with acclamation." But Father Page, who had now succeeded Father Benson as Superior of the Society, had already made it a condition of his acceptance of the office that he should have the assistance of Father Puller, and he did not see his way to withdraw from this position. No doubt he

thought that the Province of South Africa could more easily find another Bishop for Zululand than he could find a substitute for Father Puller in the particular work for which he was needed. However wise and right a decision, it was a real disappointment to the Bishops, to the Diocese of Zululand, and to the Province at large. Later on in the year the Bishops chose for the See of Zululand the Rev. William Marlborough Carter, head of the Eton Mission at Hackney Wick, in London, who was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral on September 29, and after eleven years as Bishop of Zululand, and seven as Bishop of Pretoria, was elected Archbishop of Capetown at the end of 1908, and translated in March 1909 to that See.

On the Metropolitan of South Africa, in virtue of his office, devolves the care of any vacant Diocese, and his first duty is to appoint a Vicar-General in Holy Orders to administer it until a new Bishop can be consecrated. But it is also often expedient that he should himself visit the Diocese in the usually somewhat long interval before such Consecration can take place. At the end of 1891 the See of Bloemfontein, vacant ever since the translation of Dr. Knight-Bruce to the Missionary Bishopric of Mashonaland, was likely to remain unfilled for some considerable time longer; the Metropolitan therefore arranged to visit the Diocese of Bloemfontein in December. Leaving Capetown on the 1st, he returned on the 12th. Exclusive of the time occupied in travelling, he thus obtained eight clear days, and in this short time held five Confirmations, consecrated the Church of St. Stephen at Vryburg, visited Beaconsfield and Kimberley, saw the hospitals at both places, and the diamond mines at Kimberley, and attended two or three conversaciones.

Only four months later, in April 1892, he again went up-country to visit the city of Bloemfontein itself. This time Mrs. West Jones accompanied him, and both were guests of the President of the Orange Free State and Mrs. Reitz, who received them most hospitably, although several of the President's household were ill with influenza, very prevalent then in South Africa. At Bloemfontein, on Sunday, April 24, the Metropolitan celebrated and preached

in the Cathedral, confirmed ninety natives in St. Patrick's Church, and in the evening gave an address to the Sisters at St. Michael's Home. On the Wednesday following he went to a picnic given to the school-children of Bloemfontein at Modder River, a favourite spot for such excursions, but seven years later destined to acquire a less happy reputation. That evening there was a crowded conversazione in Bloemfontein Town Hall to welcome him, and speeches were made by the Chief Justice of the Orange Free State on behalf of the general community, in place of the President, who was laid up with influenza, and by the Ven. William Crisp, Archdeacon of Bloemfontein and Vicar-General, on behalf of the Church. On Saturday, April 30, he drove out to Mr. Bourdillon's farm, passing through two swarms of locusts on the way. On Sunday he was in Bloemfontein again for the Cathedral services, and celebrated, confirmed, and preached in the Cathedral. He also attended on Monday the opening of the Volksraad, or Parliament of the Orange Free State, and, after the ceremony was over, the President courteously gave him an English translation of his official speech. He left Bloemfontein on May 4, spent three days, on his way home, in visiting the parish of Ceres, and reached Bishops court again on May 9.

The See of Bloemfontein was at length filled on St. Matthew's Day, September 21, 1892, by the consecration of a successor to Dr. Knight-Bruce, namely, the Rev. John Wale Hicks, D.D., who had won great distinction at Cambridge both in theology and in medicine. Two days before the consecration the Metropolitan was attacked by influenza, and it was only with great difficulty that he was able to take his part. Dr. Webb, Bishop of Grahamstown, and Dr. G. H. Wilkinson, who had recently resigned the See of Truro, and was now in South Africa for his health's sake, presented the Bishop-Elect. The other consecrating Bishops were Dr. Bousfield of Pretoria and Bransby Key of St. John's; and the Rev. A. J. Mason, Dr. Wilkinson's chaplain and Canon of Truro, preached a very noble sermon.

Two years earlier, and less than six months after the shock of the Bank failure in 1890, the Metropolitan had

planned the purchase of a building for a Church House in the centre of Capetown.

"I am most anxious," he then wrote, "to do this, and I hardly think that even our Bank losses ought to deter us from pushing on with the scheme. It is most essential that we should have some place for our library, for we are paying heavily for the storage of the books Dr. Littledale bequeathed to the Diocese. These it is a shame to keep unused, and hitherto we have not been able even to unpack them from their sixty cases. Meanwhile our other books are divided between Bishopscourt and the Cathedral vestry, and in the latter place they are quite unsafe. We have been offered a large house in a good situation, which would serve for Diocesan offices, library, and a house for the Rev. G. H. R. Fisk,¹ our Diocesan Secretary. It would probably cost £3000 to buy, adapt, and repair. My idea is to raise £1200, and to ask the Diocese to lay out £1800 of its uninvested capital, for which it would get at least 5 per cent in the form of rent, paid partly by Mr. Fisk and partly by the Diocesan Finance Commission, which now has to pay rent for offices elsewhere."

This plan had now been carried out, and on September 24, three days after the consecration of Dr. Hicks to the See of Bloemfontein, the Metropolitan formally opened the Church House in Burg Street, Capetown. It is an old Dutch building, contemporaneous with the "Old Town Hall," or "Stadhuis," which stands in the same block, and which dates from 1774. From a Church point of view this building has the additional interest that in it St. Cyprian's School was first opened in 1871. The Church House still preserves the ancient stoep, or raised pavement, in front of the entrance, the fan-light above the doorway, the large red tiles of the hall, the old doors with quaint brass handles, the windows with many tiny panes, and the plank ceilings supported by heavy beams of teak shipped from the East Indies

¹ The Rev. G. H. R. Fisk began work in South Africa as a layman in 1849. After his ordination in 1851 he served first for five years as Assistant Curate of George and Master of George Grammar School, and then for another year in St. Helena. Ordained Priest in 1857, he worked at Durbanville, at the Capetown Convict-station, and at Rondebosch. For fifteen years he was Diocesan Secretary and Treasurer, and for nineteen years Treasurer and Assistant Secretary to the Provincial Trustees, distinguishing himself always by a cheery brightness of spirit and by an intense devotion to duty.

He was a great authority on snakes, and singularly fearless in handling specimens of poisonous kinds, and once, even at the Church House, chased round his office an escaped cobra and captured it. For his numerous contributions of live snakes and tortoises to the London Zoological Society he received the high distinction of that Society's silver medal. He died August 31, 1911, at the age of eighty-three.

in the days of the Dutch East India Company. The purchase of the Church House has certainly been fully justified in the years which have passed since. For a long time it was the residence of successive Diocesan Secretaries, and it still is a centre for Church work, and a rendezvous for numberless committees and meetings, Diocesan and Provincial, as well as a home for the valuable Diocesan Library, and in recent years also for the Church Book Room, where large quantities of Church books and sacred pictures are sold, and thus find their way to all the Dioceses of the Province.

Before Dr. G. H. Wilkinson left the Cape, the Metropolitan, who had known and loved him for a long space of time, and to whose Association in England he had belonged for nearly twenty years, asked him whether he would accept the post of Coadjutor Bishop, should he himself be in the position to offer it after the meeting of the Elective Assembly. Dr. Wilkinson, though he could not give a definite answer at once, was clearly much touched, and, in his love for the Metropolitan and South Africa, was personally strongly drawn towards acceptance. But soon after his return to England came the offer of the Bishopric of St. Andrews in Scotland. This seemed to himself and to his friends to be a sphere for which he was much more obviously fitted, and he therefore felt compelled to decline the post in South Africa. The Metropolitan then had hopes, which Dr. Wilkinson himself encouraged, of obtaining Canon A. J. Mason as Coadjutor Bishop. But this, too, was not to be. Meanwhile, as every one expected, the Elective Assembly of the Diocese of Capetown, which met on December 6, left the appointment unreservedly in the hands of the Metropolitan; and the letter in which he acknowledged this delegation reveals so intimate and affectionate a relationship between him and his Diocese, that it is reproduced here.

From the Bishop of Capetown to the Dean of Capetown.

December 10, 1892.

MY DEAR MR. DEAN,—I am anxious to convey through you, as President of the Elective Assembly, to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese my warmest and most heartfelt acknowledgment of the Assembly's action on Tuesday last in delegating absolutely to me

the choice of my Coadjutor. I hope I am not interpreting wrongly the motive of the Assembly's decision, in cherishing the belief that the Assembly intended thereby to express its real confidence in its Bishop, and in his administration of the Diocese during the last eighteen years. I cannot but feel intensely grateful for this token of the love of my clergy and people, and pray that it may prove an incentive to increased earnestness and zeal in the discharge of my office.

I trust that the Church throughout the Diocese will continue to beseech Almighty God that He will help me by His Holy Spirit to choose a fellow-worker who will be a real help and comfort, not to me only, but to the whole Diocese, and that He will move the heart of such an one to accept the call which shall be made to him in the Name of the Lord.—Believe me, my dear Mr. Dean, your affectionate friend and brother,

W. W. CAPETOWN.

The Metropolitan finally chose the Rev. Alan George Sumner Gibson, M.A., Canon of St. John's Pro-Cathedral, Umtata, and formerly Archdeacon of Kokstad, an excellent choice, as the years which followed abundantly proved.

CHAPTER XLII

Clanwilliam visited—Commission of Arbitration at Johannesburg—Visitation of Heidelberg and history of Zuurbraak Mission—Confirmation incidents—Pastoral Letter after the passing of Deceased Wife's Sister Bill in the Cape Parliament, 1892.

THE Metropolitan's travels in 1892 included another journey to the north, this time to the Diocese of Pretoria. For the Synod of Bishops had received in September, at the time of the Consecration of the Bishop of Bloemfontein, a formal memorial asking their intervention in certain grave difficulties in the Diocese of Pretoria. In response to this application they appointed a Commission, consisting of the Metropolitan, the Bishop of Grahamstown, Dr. Webb, and the Bishop of Bloemfontein, Dr. Hicks, to act as a Court of Arbitration and to investigate matters on the spot. The Metropolitan left Capetown on Thursday, November 3, to attend this Commission. He travelled by train as far as Porterville Road, and thence, pushing on without stopping, he reached Clanwilliam by post-cart next day, and spent there a busy Saturday and Sunday, crowded with work of different kinds, including the settlement of a long-standing dispute. Two impending lawsuits were withdrawn, and the disputants agreed to an arbitration by three of the principal inhabitants upon the main question at issue. Departing by cart from Clanwilliam at mid-day on Monday, he arrived at Piquetberg Road Station in the evening, and left by the midnight train for Worcester. After two days occupied in visitation work here and at Majesfontein, he went on by train to Bloemfontein, spent a Sunday there, and reached Johannesburg at mid-day on the following Tuesday, November 15.

At four o'clock that afternoon the Commission sat for

the first time. The proceedings took up all the rest of that week and extended far into the next. The principal parties, three in number, were represented by their legal advisers, and witnesses were called in due form. Full opportunity was also given to all persons concerned to speak out their grievances quite plainly for themselves in the presence of their opponents. On Tuesday in the second week all offensive imputations by each several party were withdrawn, which was one step gained, and before the end of that week the Commission had arrived at its decisions, and published its award on several vexed questions concerning the boundaries of the important Mission districts on the Rand in Johannesburg.

On Wednesday evening there was a large reception in Doornfontein Hall, which passed off well, and seemed an augury of better things; and the Metropolitan's remark, after the conclusion of all this difficult business, was, "We have great hopes for the future, and the general feeling at Johannesburg is one of intense relief."

Before he left Johannesburg, he and the other Bishops had a long conference with the Bishop of Pretoria and with various local authorities on the future organization of the Missions along the Mines of the Rand. On Friday the Metropolitan went to Pretoria to stay with the Bishop, and called that day on the President of the Republic. On the Sunday he celebrated at the Cathedral, where he also preached both morning and evening. On Monday, November 28, he left on his homeward journey, *via* Johannesburg, and reached Bishops court on December 1.

Busy as this year had been with Provincial matters, he had nevertheless found time to do a great deal of visitation in his own Diocese. Amongst other places he visited Heidelberg in Cape Colony, and its Mission station at Zuurbraak, which has a peculiarly interesting history. Originally it had been under the London Missionary Society, and when it was handed over to the Dutch Reformed Church, the people belonging to it objected, and repeatedly sent deputations to the Metropolitan, whenever he visited the neighbourhood, asking for an English Church Mission at Zuurbraak. Each time he replied that he never considered it wise, unless the

reasons were very strong, to place a Missionary at a place where another religious body was already at work, and that, before he could do so in this case, he must be satisfied of the sincerity of their convictions, and also that the petitioners really represented a majority of the persons upon the Mission station. In 1882 they claimed such a majority ; but again the Metropolitan sent them away, saying that without clear proof he could do nothing. Whilst he was in England in that year, his Vicar-General, the Ven. H. Badnall, Archdeacon of the Cape, received a petition signed by 900 out of 1100, and after ascertaining the genuineness of the signatures, accepted the people ; and the Dutch Minister at Swellendam himself acknowledged that he could hardly have done otherwise.

In 1887 the Mission folk set to work with great enthusiasm to build a school-chapel, burning all the bricks required, and felling and sawing all the timber without any payment whatever, and quarrying and carting stone at a merely nominal price. They also themselves contributed an extra gift of 5000 bricks. And all this, in spite of the fact that the community was entirely one of poor coloured labouring folk, amongst the poorest in the whole Colony. A Deacon, the Rev. C. B. Pattison, was placed in charge in 1885, and the Metropolitan records the large number of persons confirmed in the years up to 1892 ; at his first visit in 1884, one hundred and seventy-two ; at his second in 1886, one hundred and two ; at his third in 1889, eighty-three ; at his fourth in 1892, sixty-six : a total of 423 in the first ten years since the English Church took charge of the Mission. Amongst them was the last of the old Hottentot captains, whose staff of office, presented by the British Government, now hangs in Zuurbraak church. From Zuurbraak the Metropolitan went on through the Tradouw Pass to the little village of Barrydale, set in a hollow, like a nest, amongst the very tops of the mountains.

“ Here,” he wrote in the *Mission Field* of January 1893, “ I had an instance, worth recording, of the earnestness of the coloured people, and of the sacrifices to which they voluntarily submit. An old couple had been living in Barrydale, the man over seventy, and his wife about sixty years of age. They had recently moved for the sake of work

to a place about 60 miles distant across country. The man was already confirmed, but the woman was still under preparation. The Rev. W. P. G. Schierhout, the Priest-in-charge of Heidelberg, supposed that she would not be present. But the old people knew within a day or two the date of the Confirmation, and arrived at Barrydale the day before, having walked the whole distance in three days, rather than that she should lose God's Heavenly Gift. As we left next morning, we overtook them, a mile or two out of the village, trudging their 60 miles back. People sometimes question the reality of the faith and goodness of our converts. Such instances as these, and they are not rare, are the best answer that can be given. Most of our Mission stations in the Capetown Diocese are the scantily inhabited centres of large areas. On reaching them, if the Mission folk have not already mustered, one wonders where their homes can be. But soon by twos and threes, or in larger groups, you may see them coming over the hills or across the veld to receive their instruction, to be admitted to Confirmation, to hear God's Word, or to be fed with the Bread of Life. To me the visits to such Mission stations form, perhaps, the most cheering and interesting part of my work."

After mentioning Heidelberg, the centre of the parish, of which Zuurbraak and Barrydale are both out-stations, and after testifying to the excellent work accomplished by the Priest-in-charge in only five years' time, and with the very slender resources at his command, the Metropolitan proceeds to tell the story of an interesting Confirmation in a poor little hut about a mile outside the village. The old woman, who desired to be confirmed, was over ninety years of age, and quite helpless.

I went with Mr. Schierhout, and found her lying on the bare ground, except for a thin reed-mat beneath her, and covered for warmth with three or four meal-sacks. Her hut was a simple acute angle, standing on the soil, and constructed of bushes interlaced. It measured about five feet or less from the ground to the apex of the angle, and about eight feet from one end, without door or shelter, to the other, which was closed in with wattled bushes. A woman, cooking some meal in a cauldron, was squatting just inside the opening, and it was most awkward to get past her. We both, however, squeezed through. But I never confirmed any one under such difficulties. A tall man of six feet two inches, I had to bend nearly double whilst saying the words of the Service over her, nor could I bring more than one hand into use in the act of confirming. The poor old woman seemed most grateful, murmuring her thanks to us for coming, but chiefly praising God for His mercies to her. Poor

thing ! To human eyes she appeared to have wonderfully little for which to be grateful. But it was quite impossible to doubt that she felt an inward peace in the assurance of God's forgiving Love in Jesus Christ, and in the hope of a speedy change from squalor and hardship here to the rest which remaineth for the people of God.

In 1892 a Bill to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister (and certain other unions) was suddenly introduced into the Cape Parliament, and in spite of a vigorous opposition and a whole host of petitions against it, the Bill, so far as regarded the wife's sister, was passed.

Immediately afterwards the Metropolitan issued the following letter :

To the Clergy of the Diocese of Capetown.

BISHOPSCOURT, MICHAELMAS, 1892.

MY DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST—It seems right that I should address some words to you upon the important subject of the change in the civil law of marriage in this Colony, which has been recently carried into effect. In spite of stronger and more numerous protests than have, I believe, ever been presented to the Legislature of the Colony on any other subject ; in spite of the absence of any public demand whatsoever for a change in the law, whether by petition or otherwise ; in spite of strong arguments that the contemplated change not only would be contrary to the Law of God and of His Church from the beginning, but, while abandoning a well-understood principle arising out of the sacredness of the marriage tie, would leave our Marriage Law to be governed by no principle whatever,¹ the second reading of the Bill was carried by the Speaker's casting vote, with the understanding that everything but the one clause legalizing a man's union with his deceased wife's sister should be thrown overboard in Committee. Some, at least, voted for this revolutionary measure from whom, as members of our Church, we might have reasonably claimed a different course. As you are aware, the opposition to the Bill seemed to diminish as successive divisions took place, and so the marriage of a man to his wife's sister has been legalized by the law of the Colony in which we live. The iniquity of the Bill was most clearly manifested by the retention of the retrospective clause, with the object of condoning conscious evasions of the law in the past.

The question now arises, What is the duty of the Clergy of our

¹ According to the law of Cape Colony the anomalous position now obtains that for a man to be united to his wife's sister is lawful, while to be married to the daughter of his wife's sister is incestuous. (Note by the Metropolitan himself.)

Church? You have a right to receive your Bishop's mind and direction on the matter.

And first, it is quite clear that this unfortunate change in the law of the land has no effect whatever to alter or modify the law of the Church. The "Table of Kindred and Affinity" still stands in our Prayer-books, and it is the law for us. Though you are recognized as marriage-officers, this change cannot affect your position as Clergy of the Church; and although, if the State could punish you for refusing to unite persons so related, you would doubtless refuse to do so, and would prefer to submit to any punishment which the State might inflict, it is happily clear that, however legally permissible such unions may be, there is no legal compulsion upon any of us to effect them. But whether this were so or not, it would in either case be clearly your duty to refuse to unite such persons.

But another, and perhaps a more delicate, question follows. It may be asked by some of you—and you have a right to know my judgement—what is your duty in respect of receiving to Holy Communion persons who may have been so united. It may perhaps be argued that, as the State has legalized such unions, we ought not to consider those so united as "open and notorious evil-livers." I cannot regard the question in this light. Independently of the decisive manner in which the Provincial Synod spoke on this subject by Resolution last year,¹ I would merely point out this. If on the one hand there is the law of the State; so on the other there is the law of the Church.² If the one says, "This may be done"; the other says, "This may not be done, at least by those who are of us." To a loyal Churchman, still more to an ordained Minister of the Church's Sacraments and Discipline, there can be but one decision in such a case. To him the law of the Church must be paramount; even though the law of the land should say not only that such a thing may be done, but that it shall be done. We, above all others, "ought to obey God rather than man." But it is to be carefully noted that the contrast is not of this kind. The civil law passes no judgement on the moral

¹ See *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, p. 67 (ed. 1904), Resolution xi., passed by the Provincial Synod of 1891, and headed "*Church Discipline*." It reads as follows:

"This Synod resolves that no Clergyman ought to admit to Holy Communion any person who has been united within the prohibited degrees, so long as the parties are living together as man and wife; or either of two persons so living together, one of whom is either a person divorced from a former spouse on a ground other than that of adultery, or the guilty party in the case of divorce on the ground of adultery, so long as the former spouse in either case is still living: Provided, however, that nothing in this Resolution is to be construed as releasing any Clergyman from acting on the directions contained in the 3rd Rubric preceding the Office of the Holy Communion."

² The words "contrary to the law of God," in line 9 of this letter, clearly prove that the Metropolitan did not consider the prohibition of marriage with a wife's sister to rest merely on ecclesiastical authority. Moreover, when the Roman Catholics at the Cape had offered to co-operate in opposition to the Bill, if only, in the joint manifesto proposed, the prohibition should be described not as Divine, but simply as ecclesiastical, he had promptly refused to accept their co-operation on any such terms.

aspect of the case. It does not say, "This is a union which is morally right, or which ought on moral or social grounds to take place"; it merely says that persons who may choose to be so united will not henceforth incur any legal disabilities, or subject themselves to any legal punishment, and that their children will not henceforth be considered to be illegitimate. On the other hand, the Church says plainly that such unions are wrong, and that persons so related "are forbidden in Scripture and our laws to marry together." The State's voice is merely permissive, that of the Church is distinctively prohibitive. Although, therefore, the civil law takes no exception to such unions, it does not in any way even recommend them, while the Church positively forbids them. Hence, in my judgement, the course of the Clergy in such cases is clear. Persons so united are condemned by the Church's law, and their union in the eye of the Church is incestuous, whatever may be the view of the State, and those who apply to the Church to be admitted to Holy Communion must fulfil the Church's conditions, and must not be living in what the Church regards as scandalous and notorious sin. Hence it is, in my judgement, your clear duty to admonish such persons not to present themselves for Holy Communion; and, if in spite of this they persist in presenting themselves, to refuse them and report the case to me. The Church is bound to clear herself of all responsibility for this disastrous change in the marriage law of the Colony, and to assert, whatever may be the consequences, her own discipline.—Commending you and your work to God's blessing, I am, yours faithfully and affectionately in Christ,

W. W. CAPETOWN.

P.S.—Since the above was written, the Bishops assembled in Synod have considered the same question, and have passed the following resolution regarding it:

"In consequence of the recent Act of the Legislature of the Cape Colony, legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister, the Bishops of the Province deem it necessary to remind the Clergy and faithful Laity that the Law of Christ and His Church, as received by the Church of England and of this Province, must, nevertheless, be maintained in its integrity; and accordingly that no Clergyman is justified in uniting together in Holy Matrimony persons so related; or in admitting to Holy Communion persons so related, who have been united in accordance with the civil law, so long as they live together as man and wife."¹

¹ See *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, p. 80 (ed. 1904), Resolution No. vi. of the Episcopal Synod, passed in 1892. Cp. also p. 44, Canon 28, "*Of Holy Matrimony*," which lays down:

"No Clergyman shall join in Matrimony persons . . . who are within the forbidden degrees, as set forth in the Table of Kindred and Affinity annexed to the Book of Common Prayer."

My words, therefore, come to you not merely as those of your own Bishop, but supported by the united judgement of the Bishops of the Province.

The Church in South Africa still retains in her *Constitution and Canons* all the passages just quoted, and seems to have taken the only possible consistent line in this difficult matter. For marriage with a wife's sister must be right or wrong; lawful or unlawful, according to the Law of God. If right, then such marriage ought to be as free and unfettered, and held in as honourable estimation amongst Churchmen, as any other marriage. But if wrong, no law of man can make right what the Law of God forbids; and as continuance in such an unhallowed union must be continuance in a state of sin, the Church cannot admit such persons to Holy Communion until they separate. To admit them would be to give them not a blessing, but what, in their unworthy condition, would be a curse; not a spiritual strength and privilege, but an additional peril to their souls.

And in teaching that marriage with a wife's sister is prohibited by the Law of God, the Church does not find the prohibition, as is sometimes supposed, merely, nor indeed chiefly, in a passage or passages in the Old Testament, which might conceivably be differently interpreted, but in one great principle, the very foundation of the whole law of Christian marriage, a principle underlying the whole of what is usually called the "Table of Prohibited Degrees," and derived from the emphatic Words of Christ Himself. This principle is, that in marriage man and wife are made one. "They twain shall be one flesh; so then they are no more twain, but one flesh."¹ In virtue of this Divinely proclaimed unity, the near relatives of each become the near relatives of the other; and if, after his wife's death, a man marry his wife's sister, he marries his own very near relative; and the two place themselves thereby amongst those who, as the Book of Common Prayer says, being "coupled together otherwise than God's Word doth allow, are not joined together by God; neither is their Matrimony lawful."

¹ St. Mark x. 8. Cp. St. Matt. xix. 5, 6.

CHAPTER XLIII

The Metropolitan in Natal, 1893 : Durban, Maritzburg, Estcourt, Ladysmith—Return from Durban—Visit to Prieska and first sight of Orange River—Namaqualand visitation—Consecration of chancel of Grahamstown Cathedral—Consecration of Rev. W. E. Smyth, first Bishop of Lebombo—Reception at Bishops court of Dr. Hamilton Baynes, Bishop of Natal—Nine months in England—Accident on outward voyage, 1894—Retreat at Kalk Bay—Consecration of Rev. A. G. S. Gibson, as Coadjutor Bishop—A delightful conversazione at Claremont.

SINCE the resignation of Dr. W. K. Macrorie had taken effect in 1892, the See of Maritzburg or Natal had been vacant. The Metropolitan, therefore, so arranged his plans as to visit that Diocese early in 1893. He left Capetown by sea on January 21 with his Chaplain, the Rev. J. W. Williams. On the way he had a glimpse of the beautiful "Gates of St. John," the fine headlands at the mouth of the St. John's River¹ in Kaffraria. As is often the case, the sea was very rough at Durban, where he arrived on January 27, and he and the other passengers had to be lowered into the tug in the basket cylinder used on such occasions. He went to stay with the Rev. Dr. Booth, at that time Diocesan Superintendent of Indian Missions and Canon of Maritzburg, and found that Dr. Carter, Bishop of Zululand, was also a guest in the same house. He spent the next day at Verulam with Mr. and Mrs. Bannister, after passing through "a fertile country full of sugar plantations, mealie (maize) fields, and pine-apple gardens, with large tracts of forest and of plantations on the green hill-sides, the vegetation being rich and almost tropical." He confirmed many candidates in the

¹ Apparently named from the *S. João*, or *St. John*, a Portuguese galleon wrecked rather to the east of the mouth of this river on June 18, 1552.

Church at Verulam, and also a married couple, unable to come to the Church, in their own house at Tongaat, seven miles distant. On Sunday, January 29, he celebrated early in St. Aidan's, Durban, the Church of the Indian Mission, preached in St. Augustine's on the Berea, and confirmed in the Church of St. Cyprian's, Durban, in which he noticed especially the exquisite paintings in the beautiful chancel. He then went back to St. Aidan's to meet the Indian Christians in Dr. Booth's garden. They came and sang Indian hymns, and he gave them an address. In the evening he preached in St. Cyprian's, and, after the Service was over, went to the Zulu Native Chapel, where the Bishop of Zululand was confirming, and gave the blessing at the conclusion of the Service. "A very tiring day," as he might well write, "and excessively, almost unbearably, hot."

On Monday he attended a *conversazione* given in honour of the Bishops in Durban Town Hall, and on Tuesday he went on to Maritzburg, where he was welcomed by the Dean (Dr. Green) and the Church officers, and in the evening met a large number of the Clergy and Laity at the Deanery. On Wednesday he went on to Estcourt, of which the Rev. (now Canon) A. P. Troughton was in charge. From a hill-top near Estcourt he saw the glorious view over the surrounding country towards the Tugela, little thinking, as he stood gazing northwards, that he was contemplating a future battlefield, and that, six years later, some of the Estcourt people would be watching from this very spot the grand but terrible sight of the shells bursting over Grobler's Kloof during the battle of Colenso. On Thursday he went on to Ladysmith, where he was met by the Ven. J. Barker, Arch-deacon of Maritzburg and Vicar of Ladysmith. At Ladysmith he remained till Saturday, and then returned to Maritzburg for Sunday. Here an address of welcome was presented to him on Sunday morning just outside the Cathedral, and there were the usual Sunday Services. The Diocesan Missionary Conference began on February 8, after a "Quiet Day," with addresses by the Bishop of Zululand on the 7th, and was continued on the 9th. After it was over, the Dean gave a large evening party. The next evening there was a great Missionary Meeting in the Drill Shed,

with speeches by the Metropolitan, the Bishop of Zululand, the Rev. W. E. Smyth, Bishop-Elect of Lebombo, and Dr. Booth. Visits to St. Anne's School for Girls, St. Alban's Mission, etc., and calls upon various persons, filled up the afternoons and evenings of several days. On Sunday, February 12, he was far from well, but he went out to a Service at 11 A.M. in the Drill Shed. Preaching there "to a good congregation, though in a miserable building in no way fitted up like a church," he spoke very plainly about so unsatisfactory a state of things. Happily the improvement he then desired has long since taken place.

He departed from Maritzburg on February 13 for Durban, where he was again the guest of Dr. Booth, and where he had an interview with a Mr. McColl, of Messrs. Dunn & Co., about a debt due to the firm from St. Michael's Church, Jeppestown, in the Diocese of Pretoria, and Mr. McColl made the very liberal offer to accept £750 in lieu of £1340. Another day he inspected the Indian institutions, in which he was much interested, viz. a Children's Home and Girls' School under the charge of Miss Saunders, and a Boys' School, where he examined some of the boys, and was well pleased with the intelligence which they showed.

Sailing from Durban on February 16, he reached Capetown on the 20th. In the Dean of Maritzburg's opinion, he had done very much good in Natal by bringing Clergy and Laity alike to "regard the Province as a reality." "Hearts were won," said the Dean, "as well as heads convinced."

In July of this year, while visiting Prieska, a place at that time only accessible by a seventeen hours' cart journey of 110 miles from De Aar, the Metropolitan went to see the Orange River, which here forms the northern boundary alike of what was then Cape Colony and of the Diocese of Capetown, and is far the largest river on the west coast south of the Congo.

"It was just sunset," he writes, "and the glorious colours reflected in the great, silent, stately river were magnificent. The river is the one redeeming feature of a hideous country."

His visitation of Namaqualand in August had the usual accompaniment of rough passages both going and returning, and this time there was the additional discomfort of arriving off Port Nolloth in a dense fog, which made it impossible to verify the ship's position, and necessitated lying-to, whilst the ship rolled heavily in the swell, from 4 A.M. till 4 P.M., "a very dreary twelve hours."

In November the Metropolitan was at Grahamstown for the Consecration of the "fine and stately" new chancel of the Cathedral. He was to have preached at the Consecration Service, but was much too poorly to attempt it, and only just able to be present, the Bishop of Bloemfontein, Dr. Hicks, preaching in his stead. A Synod of Bishops was held at Grahamstown November 2 to 4 inclusive, and on Sunday, November 5, there followed the Consecration of the Rev. W. E. Smyth, first Bishop of the new Missionary Bishopric of Lebombo.¹ The Metropolitan wore on this occasion a cope of cloth of gold and a mitre of the same material, and the whole Service was admirably arranged and most dignified.

The Metropolitan reached home on November 8, spent the next few days in Diocesan work, welcomed at Bishops-court, November 13 and 14, the new Bishop of Maritzburg and Natal,² Dr. Hamilton Baynes, and his Archdeacon, the Ven. F. S. Baines, had a long talk with the Bishop on each of these days, and left for England on November 15, after eleven months of such constant moving to and fro in the Diocese and in the Province that he had not had a single complete month this year at Bishops-court.

In the course of the nine months which he spent in England he assisted, on December 28, 1893, in the Consecration of the Bishop of Honduras (Dr. Ormsby), and was present at a great Pan-Anglican Missionary Conference in St. James's Hall on May 29 and 30, 1894, himself pre-

¹ The consecrating Bishops were: The Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown (Dr. West Jones), and the Bishops of Grahamstown (Webb), Pretoria (Bousfield), St. John's, Kaffraria (Key), Zululand (Carter), and Bloemfontein (Hicks). The new Bishop was an old Summerfield boy.

² So he was at first styled, but afterwards, by the decision of the Bishops of the Province, simply "Bishop of Natal." At this time he himself wittily said, that he was not yet in a position to answer the first question of the Catechism, "What is your name? N. or M.?" —Natal or Maritzburg.

siding on the latter day at the discussion on Polygamy. Except a brief visit, which he much enjoyed, to Dr. G. H. Wilkinson, then Bishop of St. Andrews, in his Scottish home, nothing else need be recorded till he left for the Cape on August 25; although he did, as usual, plenty of work for his Diocese whilst he was in England.

At the very beginning of the voyage to the Cape there was a somewhat startling accident. About 11.30 P.M. on the night after leaving Southampton there was a sudden shock, then shouts were heard, and the screw stopped.

We had run into the Norwegian barque *Venerata*, of 600 tons, bound from Sacramento to London with a cargo of resin and turpentine. Our vessel had cut clean through the bows of the other, without doing herself the least damage. The barque began at once to sink, and in an hour and a half went down altogether. The crew, thirteen in all, took to their boats, abandoning their vessel and all their effects, and came on with us to Madeira.

The welcome the Metropolitan received at the Cape was as warm and hearty as upon his last return from England. At Bishops court, where it was fast getting dark on the day of his arrival, "in spite of pouring rain, the people, the cottagers and their children, had assembled to greet us with flags, bunting was hanging from the walls of the courtyard, and the children sang 'Home, Sweet Home.' " A few days later, after an Ordination on St. Matthew's Day, September 21, two most cordial addresses were read, and he received a pastoral staff of silver and ebony, the gift of Clergy ordained by him during his Episcopate, and of past and present Chaplains.

Two days later he attended with three other Bishops and the Bishop Coadjutor Elect, and with many of the Clergy of the Peninsula, a Retreat held at Kalk Bay, and conducted by the Ven. J. R. Vincent, Dean of Bloemfontein.

On Michaelmas Day, assisted by six of the Bishops of the Province,¹ he consecrated the Rev. A. G. S. Gibson as first Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown. Amongst those present were the General and his Staff, and the President of the

¹ Grahamstown (Webb), Pretoria (Bousfield), St. John's, Kaffraria (Key), Lebombo (Smyth), Bloemfontein (Hicks), and Natal (Baynes).

H. H. Foster; G. F. Greeley; T. Browning; A. T. Wirgman (Canon); J. W. Williams; T. F. Lightfoot (Archd.); M. H. M. Wood;
R. Brooke (Canon); J. Baker (Canon); C. W. Barnett, Clarke (Dean); T. H. Archer-Houlton; J. R. Vincent (Dean); Father G. H. Hodge.



Photo Fripp, Capetown.

BISHOPS AND CHAPLAINS AT CONSECRATION OF COADJUTOR BISHOP OF CAPETOWN, SEPT. 29, 1894.

Capetown, Coadjutor (Gibson); Natal (Baynes); St. John's (Key); Grahamstown (Webb); The Metropolitan; Pretoria (Bousfield); Bloemfontein (Hicks); Lebomblo (Smyth).

Orange Free State. The Bishop of Natal preached "a most beautiful and striking sermon," and it was to the Metropolitan a day of deep and intense joy and thankfulness. He felt that there was at last every prospect, not so much of relief to himself from actual toil, but of the thorough and adequate working of the Diocese. Already he had been for twenty years Diocesan Bishop and Metropolitan of the Province; and meanwhile the amount to be done, both in Diocese and in Province, had grown enormously, so that not even a much younger man than himself would have been able now to cope satisfactorily with it single-handed.

In the evening of October 1, the Churchmen of the Cape Peninsula gave a very warm-hearted reception to the eight Bishops in Claremont Town Hall. The speakers were the Metropolitan, the Bishop of Natal, the Coadjutor Bishop, who was still to remain Rector of Claremont, the Hon. Alfred Ebdon, Dr. Gill, the Astronomer Royal, and the Ven. T. F. Lightfoot, who had been Vicar-General during the Metropolitan's absence in England. The meeting had all the enthusiasm and delightfulness of a large family party. The Metropolitan was in his most playful mood; and the Bishop of Natal, after dwelling much upon his own close acquaintance with the Coadjutor Bishop ever since school and college days, to the amusement of all present, as they gazed at those bearded faces, ended with the words, "In fact, as the poet says, 'They grew in beauty side by side.'"

In the tenth Synod of the Diocese of Capetown, which opened on October 4 and closed on October 17, there was a vehement discussion on Discipline, a subject which the last Provincial Synod had referred to the several Diocesan Synods; but it came to a peaceable and satisfactory conclusion. Near the end of the year, on the Feast of St. Andrew, November 30, the Metropolitan had the happiness of consecrating the Church of St. Andrew, Newlands, a fine building with stone walls and a reed thatch. Newlands, formerly part of Claremont parish, and in old days often worked by the Metropolitan's Chaplain, now became a separate parish under its first Rector, the Rev. R. S. Kendall, whose labours of three or four years' duration had been crowned with success in the completion of this beautiful church.

Next day, December 1, was marked by a still more joyful event, the Service of prayer and thanksgiving at the opening of the new All Saints' Home. But a description of all that this signified, and of the long-sustained effort which had preceded it, will be given in the next chapter but one.

CHAPTER XLIV

The Cowley Fathers in the Diocese of Capetown—Kafir Mission at Papendorp, 1883 to 1885—School-Chapel of St. Philip, 1886—St. Columba's Home, 1886—Sheppard Memorial School, 1889—St. Philip's Church, 1899—Parish of St. Philip's formed and separated from the Capetown Native Mission, 1904.

WHEN Father Puller arrived at the Cape in 1883, the present Archdeacon of London, the Ven. E. E. Holmes, was the Metropolitan's Chaplain, and he has well said, "How much courage it then required to ask the Cowley Fathers into a Diocese such as Capetown, we can hardly understand in these days." And of Father Puller himself he writes, that from the time of his arrival he "put all his wealth of learning and all his powers into the great questions then at stake, and placed himself ungrudgingly at the disposal of the Metropolitan as well as of the Sisters and of the Natives." There is plenty of other evidence that acquaintance with Father Puller's own personality did much, in the first months after his arrival, to disarm prejudice, and to obtain that welcome from the Clergy of the Diocese, without which it would have been totally impossible for the Metropolitan to invite the Fathers to make their work in South Africa permanent.

It may be well to give here a short history of the Mission of St. Philip's, Capetown, which became, next to the care of St. George's (afterwards All Saints') Home, the special charge of the Fathers. A Mission to Natives was begun near Papendorp (now Woodstock) Railway Station by the Rev. G. F. Gresley in 1883, immediately after the fearful epidemic of smallpox, but the natives attending the Services very soon dispersed. About September 1884, the Mission was revived with the help of a German lady worker. Open-air

Services were held on Sunday afternoons in Mrs. Short's Kafir location, and a few weeks later nine men came forward to declare their belief in God Who made heaven and earth, and to express their wish to hear more, and to learn how to speak to God. A night school was then opened in a room, the only apparatus being two candles stuck in bottles, a black-board, and chalk! In May 1885, Mr. Gresley, the Rector of the parish, handed over the Kafir Mission at Papendorp to the charge of the Fathers of the Society of St. John the Evangelist and, in January 1886, a catechist arrived from Kaffraria. Amongst the new-comers at this time was a native named Palisa, a man of about thirty years of age, "ragged but earnest." After six months in Capetown he was sent to Umtata to the Rev. W. M. Cameron, to be trained as a regular Catechist. On Quinquagesima Sunday, March 7, 1886, when Fathers Puller and Sheppard were the Priests of the Mission, and John James, who some years later took as his surname his grandfather's name of Xaba, was the native Catechist,¹ seven natives were baptized in the newly-built School-Chapel. These were the first-fruits which the Mission had gathered from amongst the native population, as distinct from the coloured people of mixed race living in this district. It is an interesting fact that Bernard Mitzeki, one of the seven, a native belonging to the Baga-gwambe tribe in the Ka-gwambe country in the Portuguese territory now included in the Diocese of Lebombo, laid down his life as a martyr ten years later, whilst at work as a Catechist in Mashonaland.²

The school-chapel itself was blessed by the Metropolitan

¹ Now the Rev. J. J. Xaba, Assistant Priest of St. Cuthbert's, Tsolo, Diocese of St. John's.

² In 1891 Bernard went up to Rhodesia with the Bishop of Mashonaland, Dr. Knight-Bruce, and was stationed near the kraal of a chief named Magwendi. He won the respect of all the European traders of the district, and acquired such great influence amongst the heathen natives that their "witch-doctors" determined to kill him. But he took no notice of their threats. Late one night, in June 1896, three or four men knocked at the door of his hut, asking for shelter from the cold. He told his wife to open the door; and they came in. After warming themselves for some minutes at the fire, they suddenly attacked him with axes as he lay on his bed, dragged him out of the hut, and leaving him for dead, went off to try to kill the other Christian natives. Meanwhile Bernard, assisted by his wife, managed to crawl up into some rocks, where he hid. As the men, on their return, could not find his body, they were sure he must be alive, and began searching for him. Then, the natives say, there appeared on the hillside a brightly-shining figure, as of a man, which so dazzled and terrified the searchers that they ran away to their own homes. Bernard's wife nursed him in his concealment for perhaps ten days, and then he died.

on April 3, as the Chapel of St. Philip the Deacon. The altar was the Metropolitan's own gift, and was made at Zonnebloem. It is interesting as showing the wide range of this Native Mission at Capetown even in its earliest days, that Father Puller, sending next year a photograph to Father Benson, tells him that two of the natives in it are Tom Sihaya, brother of a chief of Tamene near Inhambane, and Charles Frederick, an Ajawa, named after the first Missionary Bishop of the Zambesi, Charles Frederick Mackenzie, who took possession of him near Magomero in 1861, and sent him to Capetown to be trained as a Christian.

In July 1886 a house was taken in Capetown, between Sir Lowry Road and the sea. This became the first St. Columba's Home, and after the establishment of this home, the headquarters of this Mission were transferred hither from Papendorp.

In 1889 (July 29) the "Sheppard Memorial School" in memory of the much-beloved Father Sheppard, who died on April 28 of the previous year, was opened by the Metropolitan.

Ten years later, February 4, 1899, the Metropolitan, now more generally known by the title of Archbishop, laid the foundation-stone of the fine new Church of St. Philip on open ground near some brickfields, and not far from the original school-chapel of the Mission. A letter from Capetown written two days afterwards says :

The scene of the ceremony was very striking. Flags were festooned in a locality where signs of joy and beauty seldom come ; and on the platform, over which hung the stone to be laid, were gathered English ladies and gentlemen, guilds of coloured children, half-castes, Kafir workmen and dusky mothers with tiny children, while on a neighbouring roof Malays, red-capped, watched the proceedings with silent interest. Then from the Mission-House came the sound of chanting. The procession appeared, and those forming it filed into their places on the platform. Behind them and above them rose the wonderful face of Table Mountain, up which a fleecy cloud was rolling, and, as the Archbishop began in his splendid voice, "I believe in God," a sudden ray of light turned the cloud into a silver glory on the mountain top ; and these peoples of many languages, but all united in the One Faith, joined in the recitation of the Creed with a sound like a mighty roar.

The writer next describes the Archbishop's address, which, dwelling on the growth of the place from the time when the population was so small that the Education Department could hardly be persuaded to give a grant for a school, told of thirteen or fourteen years' work and worship in an unconsecrated building ; and which ended with the thought that the ceremony of that day was not so much a new beginning as the crowning of long and patient effort in God's work, the work of the salvation of souls, the conversion of those who know not Christ. After this he says :

Then we all sang the "Veni, Creator"—all that strangely mixed crowd, composed chiefly of the poor of Capetown, who have so little to give, but who yet give so gladly ; and I wondered whether the day would ever come when the millionaires of South Africa would raise a temple to God, and crown the wealth of Africa with a Cathedral at Capetown worthy of the name.

This new Church of St. Philip was consecrated December 31, 1899, by Dr. Gibson, the Coadjutor Bishop ; for the Archbishop, who had fully intended to come himself, was unwell, and at the last moment, to his own great disappointment, quite unable to leave home.

Finally, in 1904, St. Philip's was constituted a regular parish under the Rev. Brett Guyer, as first Rector, and the Fathers transferred the Church itself to the Diocese, giving up also at the same time the charge of the surrounding district. Such a re-arrangement had indeed become most desirable, for the coloured population within this area had enormously increased during the twenty years which had elapsed, since a first Mission Service and Sunday School had been provided for them in 1884 in "Lydia's Cottage."¹

The Fathers, however, still retained the charge of the "Capetown Native Mission," including St. Columba's Home, a Hostel for some seventy natives employed in Capetown ; the Mission work centring round St. Cyprian's Church in the large location for natives at Ndabeni, close to Maitland ; and also the other Mission work in the smaller locations

¹ This cottage had only one room, and belonged to Lydia, formerly a native slave, who still, as she said, bore on her back the scars of the cruel days of slavery. She died on June 16, 1910, after many years' faithful work, as a loyal helper of the Mission, amongst the poor of the neighbourhood.

at Capetown Docks, at Simonstown, and at Kuils River. Thus, besides All Saints' Home and its dependent institutions, all the purely Native Mission work in and near Capetown was left in their hands ; and even with a staff of three Priests of their own Society, and with the help of a resident Assistant Chaplain at all Saints' Home, they have their time fully occupied.

God's blessing has, indeed, rested abundantly upon their labours, and neither the Archbishop himself, who first invited them, nor the Diocese of Capetown, which first received them, has ever had reason to regret their coming. In every way they have been a strength to the whole Province ; and other Dioceses, besides that of Capetown, have profited by their ministrations, notably the Diocese of St. John's, Kaffraria, in which the Society of St. John the Evangelist took over in 1904 the important Mission district of St. Cuthbert's, Tsolo, formerly in charge of the Missionary Brotherhood of St. Cuthbert, members of that Brotherhood becoming in course of time members of the Society of St. John the Evangelist.¹

¹ Two other Brotherhoods are now working in the Province, viz. the Society of the Sacred Mission, since 1902, in the Diocese of Bloemfontein ; and the Community of the Resurrection, since 1903, in the Diocese of Pretoria.

CHAPTER XLV

The work of the Sisters of the All Saints' Community in the Diocese of Capetown from 1876—The care of waifs and strays—The smallpox epidemic, 1882—Typhoid at St. George's Home and ruinous state of the buildings, 1892—New All Saints' Home completed, 1894—New St. Cyprian's School, 1896—Hard times at Leliebloem, 1892—St. Cyprian's School and Sister Theodora.

“THE Chaplaincy of St. George's (afterwards All Saints') Home and of its associated works” was the first of the four objects for which the Metropolitan had so earnestly desired to obtain the permanent assistance of some of the Cowley Fathers. Indeed in 1882 the Mother Superior of the All Saints' Community had come to the definite conclusion that, unless their aid and support in this capacity could be obtained, the Sisters must withdraw from Capetown, and reluctantly relinquish the several flourishing educational and charitable institutions first taken over by the Sisterhood in March 1876. How much scope there was for work amongst the poor and destitute in Capetown, and how nobly the Sisters, and those helping them, were giving themselves to it, may be seen from the following account :

There were no trained nurses in Capetown in those days, and in urgent cases one of the Sisters, or a lady worker, would be called out. Twice the Sister Superior was thus summoned in the dead of night, once to a dying man, and once to a woman, who was very ill, but who by timely care recovered. Once she had to go to help a poor woman to get her mad sister away into an asylum. In fact, the Sisters were called upon to do anything, and everything possible, in any emergency. As to destitute children, they had constantly to take in whole families. For instance, three boys and a small girl belonging to the island of St. Helena, whose parents had died, leaving them stranded, were brought to them. Again five small girls, whose mother had lately died, and whose father, a poor coloured sailor, was

never at home, were brought by an aunt, who could not support them. All she could do was to dress them in one little garment apiece, and to provide them with untrimmed new straw hats on the top of their woolly heads. Another time it was an Englishman, who had been shipped off with his family to the Cape, because he could not "get on" in England. All were starving, and there was nothing to be done except to take some of the little ones, whilst the father went "up the country" to seek a living, which was never found. Another duty which fell to the Sisters was to save *white* babies, when possible, from being "adopted" by Malays (Moslems) who would accept foundlings, and get them indentured till they were twenty-one years old, thus acquiring power over them to bring them up for any purpose. So the Sisters rescued many a poor foundling baby, and once a tiny baby of about eight days old was left in a basket at their door. Upon such small waifs and strays it was a joy to bestow care and love, and to bring them to Holy Baptism, but several, in spite of all that could be done, died within their first year on earth. Once, on a wet night, there was much tapping at the door of the Home, and when the Sister Superior opened it, she saw a circle of small Malay girls pushing forward a very sad little thing, and saying, "Missus, take her in ; she has no home." So she was taken in, and washed, and clothed, and fed, but still remained a very sad little girl, always looking frightened. In two days the reason appeared. A terrible, grand Malay woman came, who demanded "her little servant." At first the Sister Superior refused to give her up. But the woman produced a paper of indenture, and the poor child, with many tears and an agony of fear upon her face, was led away by her "mistress," who called her "a naughty, bad girl." The child looked about eight or nine years old. Some weeks later, a small girl was sent to the Sisters one evening by the Rev. G. F. Gresley, the Rector of Papendorp, a seaside suburb of Capetown. He said he had found her wandering by the sea, and evidently destitute and homeless. When the Sisters saw her, behold ! it was the same child, who had again fled from her Malay mistress. The poor little body showed marks of ill-usage. So the Sister Superior appealed to the Magistrate, and he, after going into the case, broke the indenture, and made over the child to the Sisters. She was baptized under the name of Leah, and lived on a few years, but died of fever before she was grown up. These are samples of the sort of children received and sheltered, taught and provided for, in St. Michael's Home.

And here is the experience of the terrible smallpox epidemic, as it is described by the then Sister Superior of St. George's Home, Keerom Street.

In September 1882 smallpox broke out and raged like a plague in

Capetown and its suburbs until February 1883. It was a wonderful time. We had smallpox next door to the children's house, and opposite. The Clergy—and amongst them our own Chaplain, the Rev. E. E. Holmes, was one of the most active—were constantly engaged in ministering to the stricken and terrified people.¹ Only one of our children and one worker fell ill. They were carried off to one of the wooden sheds, which served as temporary hospitals, and both in time recovered. The worker, Mary Swift by name, a wondrously devoted woman, who was acting as nurse to our "babies," afterwards responded to a request we had for nursing help in some smallpox tents put up on the veld far away from any habitations, a wild, weird spot. There she nursed a number of poor, low, black men, picked up from the places where they had succumbed to the disease. She was alone, the one white woman amongst these men, with just a kind of rough servant to draw water and to cut up wood for her. She had to cook picnic fashion, and she had a small tent for her own use. Our Chaplain visited her, and cheered her on, once a week.

In Chapter XXIV the story has been already told of the years of strenuous effort in raising money for a new House of Mercy, and how, as the happy result of this long struggle, the buildings at Leliebloom were dedicated early in 1888. But, meanwhile, all the other buildings in charge of the Sisterhood, both in Keerom Street and in New Street, had long been in a shockingly dilapidated state, and were becoming steadily worse. Attempts, indeed, had been made from time to time to improve them, and some hundreds of pounds had been spent. They were now obviously in too rotten a condition to last much longer. Yet the strain of collecting funds for the new House of Mercy was hardly over, and even upon that building there was still a debt. Then came the crisis caused by the failure of two of the Capetown

¹ Before the end of September the one farm reserved for infectious diseases was full with 200 patients from Capetown, and 84 other cases had occurred in Papendorp alone. There was no municipal organization to cope with such an epidemic, no hospital, no nurses ready for it, no arrangement even for the burial of all the dead. Hence the awful chaos described in the *Guardian* of October 25 and November 1, 1882. The Clergy who were chiefly prominent in the work of mercy amongst the sufferers at this terrible time were the Rev. T. F. Lightfoot, Missionary Canon, and the Rev. R. Brooke, Warden of the Diocesan College School, each in turn subsequently Archdeacon of the Cape; the Rev. E. E. Holmes, Chaplain to the Metropolitan and Chaplain to St. George's Home, who afterwards in 1911 became Archdeacon of London; and the Rev. G. F. Gresley, then Rector of Papendorp, since called Woodstock. Each of these searched out the sick in lonely places, often had to feed and to nurse the poor sufferers, deserted in a panic by friends and relatives, and sometimes had even with his own hands to lay the dead in their coffins. All this, besides ministering in spiritual ways, baptizing such of the unbaptized as could be prepared for that Sacrament, and giving Absolution and Communion to the sick and the dying.

Banks in 1890, another serious hindrance; for a structure was urgently needed even larger and more costly than the House of Mercy. Before 1891 matters were getting positively desperate. In a printed report published in the middle of that year there is a vivid picture of the extraordinary dilapidation of the old buildings.

St. George's Home consists of a number of houses in New Street and Keerom Street, added one by one, from time to time, as the work of the Sisters has increased, and adapted, as far as possible, to meet their needs. Apart from the necessary inconvenience of such a variety of buildings grouped together, each house, with the exception of St. Cyprian's, which is in New Street and quite separate, is actually falling to pieces, so that there are parts of the buildings which are scarcely safe to live in. On Easter Even one of the floors fell in, and we found a deep well underneath. Every window or door is either broken or breaking away. In the Boys' Home¹ many of the windows are simply frames, with no glass at all, so that, during the wet weather, either the boys are drenched in their dormitories, or else they are nearly suffocated, for a board is placed against the window to keep out the rain. The rain pours in through the roof in all parts of the house, so that we have occasionally to walk upstairs under an umbrella! . . .

P.S.—Since writing the above, another catastrophe has occurred—part of the Boys' Home has fallen in. Happily the boys were all at school when it happened, and so none were injured.

Long ere things had reached so grave a pass as this, the Metropolitan had done his utmost to prepare the way for moving all the institutions belonging to the Home from these ruinous buildings. Yet even now, when the emergency was so startling, it seemed impossible at first either to sell the site, or, even if it could be sold, to raise the large additional sum necessary for the building of a new Home. But

¹ This house, "St. Michael's Home," as it was called, had been bought for £400 in 1876, and was "quite a curiosity and a piece of antiquity." It contained the oldest mosque in Capetown, with two wooden pillars in it, which the Malay (or Moslem) mason employed by the Sisters explained by saying, "It is so at Mecca, and it was so in the Temple at Jerusalem." In the wall most nearly facing Mecca was a niche, and in this direction all the worshippers prayed, row behind row. This niche was left and not bricked up, because the mason was confident that the Sisters would use it "only for good things." The passage just outside had windows opening into the mosque, that through them the women might watch the prayers going on. Downstairs in another room was a huge oven for preparing the religious feasts held by Moslems at marriages and funerals. This under room, after the removal of the oven, was turned into a dining-room. The mosque became a dormitory, and an old stable, "the humblest place imaginable but very devotional," a long low room, became the Chapel.

the Metropolitan set to work with energy. He gave liberally himself, and he appealed to others, and now not unsuccessfully, for the urgency of the case was quite manifest. After many disappointments, he also obtained an offer to purchase the old site for a sum of £10,000.¹ This was but half of the estimated cost of the new Home. Still, with the money already collected in different quarters, and with a certain sum saved during past years by the foresight of the Sisters themselves, who had "pinched and scraped," as one of them said, in all kinds of ways, it was now becoming possible to begin building operations. But the troubles connected with this anxious time were not yet at an end. Before even a single stone of the new Home was in its place, typhoid fever broke out in June 1892 in the dilapidated old Home in Keerom Street, and then, the very next day, another portion of its ruinous walls collapsed under the soaking influence of the unusually heavy rains of that year. The Metropolitan's Chaplain has a very vivid recollection of the arrival at Bishops court one Wednesday morning of the news of these two catastrophes. The Metropolitan was busy in his study, dictating important letters for the English mail, and was repeatedly interrupted, as messages of disaster, of which these were but two, came one after another, like the succession of evil tidings to Job.

The old St. George's Home had now, of course, to be abandoned; and, at only twenty-four hours' notice, temporary quarters had to be found for all its inmates, about two hundred in number. Four months later, on All Saints' Day 1892, under a burning summer sun, and amidst the vines of a vineyard on the lower slopes of the "Lion's Head" above the Kloof Road, the foundation-stone of a fine block of buildings was laid. On this spacious ground the new Home now stands, under the shade of a cluster of tall pine-trees, and commanding a noble view of the blue waters of the bay below, and of the great Table Mountain just above. The situation is as wholesome as it is lovely, and is thus in strong contrast with that of the

¹ The offer was anonymous, and the Metropolitan himself did not know at the time that it really came from Mr. Rhodes, who told a friend that he made it because the Metropolitan "looked anxious and worried." The offer was, of course, most thankfully accepted.

old Home in Keerom Street, for which, nevertheless, in spite of all its defects, those who once lived and worked in it under such very great difficulties, have ever retained a strong affection.

Not till July 1894 could the children be transferred to the still unfinished buildings, and not till December 1 of that year were these, at length, sufficiently complete for the Metropolitan to come to bless them. Sir Henry Loch, the Governor, was unfortunately detained elsewhere by important public business. But Lady Loch, acting on his behalf as well as her own, formally declared the new Home open under its new title of "All Saints' Home," a change of name which was appropriate enough, and served to distinguish it from St. George's Orphanage in Harrington Street, sometimes called Miss Arthur's Orphanage, with which in former days the old "St. George's Home" had been so frequently confused.

Further additions were made in 1895, and in 1898 a new Chapel was built, in which were inserted some stained glass windows taken from the old Chapel in Keerom Street. Two years earlier, the final transference of the last remaining portion of the old institutions had been accomplished, when the new St. Cyprian's School was opened in Annandale Street, July 25, 1896. The new All Saints' Home had then cost about £24,000, and the new St. Cyprian's School about £7000; less than half the amount in each case being realized by the sale of the old site.

Meanwhile, even at the House of Mercy, Leliebloom, there had been a time of somewhat serious pinch. The Metropolitan was much shocked to discover in 1892 that Sisters, Penitents, and Matrons were all alike living in the hardest possible way, and submitting uncomplainingly to the privation of some of the simplest and most ordinary comforts, elsewhere considered the very necessities of existence. He promptly called a meeting of the principal merchants and other leading men in Capetown, and laid the case before them. One who was present that day recalls the intense earnestness of his speech, and the moving instances he gave of the hardness of the life which not only the Sisters, but the poor Penitents also—many of them quite

young girls from thirteen upwards—were compelled to lead. He remembers how the Metropolitan took good care that immediate action should follow the meeting, and that not a single day should be lost in making the relief both sure and permanent.

Indeed, the Metropolitan's solicitude for the Sisterhood, and for the works under their charge, never diminished in any respect. The present Sister Superior at Capetown says :

We owe much to his unfailing kindness and generosity and true Fatherliness. He was so personally interested in all our works, that I always knew that I could freely go to him in any trouble or anxiety. It used to be a great relief to me when I had received his promise to be present at any prize-giving of ours, because its success was at once ensured. He knew everybody, with their mothers and their grandmothers, and took such a kindly interest in one and all, that he made each of us feel him to be truly our Father in God.

From the very first he had set the highest value on the existence and prosperity of St. Cyprian's School. One of those educated there in the School's earliest days, and writing from a knowledge which covers the whole time of his Episcopate, says :

My family and I came to know him well soon after his arrival, and I seem to be able to look back and to trace from the very beginning his personal friendship with me as well as with the rest of us. I was a St. Cyprian's girl, and all St. Cyprian's girls were his friends, and found a special place of interest in his heart. He always made a point of being present at every St. Cyprian's prize-giving, if he possibly could.

He stayed at my home in Kimberley in early days, and became at once the friend of everyone in the house. On Sunday morning he was found with all the four children gathered round him at the piano and singing hymns with them. Another time they were sitting on his knees and on the arms of his chair, while he read them a story, an old favourite of his, which he had found in a shop in the town.

When he first came to Capetown, Miss Anderson-Morshead was giving a course of lectures to the girls of the higher classes of St. Cyprian's, on "The Old Masters and their Pictures." But she had only a very few photographs, and those rather small and poor, to illustrate the famous pictures of the world. The Bishop, who was a member of the Arundel Society, was much interested when he heard of these lectures, and at once offered to let us see his "Arundels," inviting the whole class to Bishops court for that purpose. And

there, with note-books and pencils, we spent a most enjoyable day, the Arundel pictures all around us, and Miss Anderson-Morshead lecturing on them with great delight. I often wonder whether others of that class remember that day as well as I do. It gave me an interest in and a love for pictures which has been a pleasure through life ; and when, many years afterwards, I had the happiness of a visit to Italy, I found a real joy in seeing the originals of many masterpieces, which that visit to Bishops court had first taught me to know and love. The Bishop himself never forgot that class. Years afterwards he would often take me off from the drawing-room to his study, or to a portfolio, "to see a new Arundel."

His interest in St. Cyprian's remained just as keen up to the very end of his life. I remember a long talk we had about St. Cyprian's School on his last voyage to England, when I had the privilege, for which I shall always be thankful, of travelling with him. We had been speaking of the wonderful influence which Sister Theodora¹ had exercised over the girls under her charge. "Yes," he said, "and you have me to thank for that. I asked for Sister Theodora for St. Cyprian's. The Sisters wanted her for St. Michael's Home. But St. Cyprian's needed her most. I knew she was the woman for it, and the Sister Superior yielded to me. Nothing in my Episcopate gives me such absolute satisfaction. I have never had the least cause to regret it. But—with a merry twinkle in his eye—even she herself did not wish to go ! You have to thank *me* for it, that you had her, and that she went to you !"

¹ Sister Theodora's first work, when she came out from England in 1878, as Miss Fanny Blakiston, was in St. Michael's Home, and she was to have been Sister-in-charge when she returned as a fully professed Sister of Mercy in 1889. But one of the Sisters teaching in St. Cyprian's School was killed in an accident on St. Cyprian's Day in that year, and the shock entirely broke down the failing health of the Sister at the head of the School. At the Metropolitan's strong desire, Sister Theodora was appointed to the post, which she held for more than twenty years, until her death on February 4, 1910. She was a true mother to all the girls of St. Cyprian's, and the School grew and developed wonderfully. Teachers and schoolgirls were enthusiastically devoted to her, and delighted to have her with them, when possible, in their holidays. She had a very keen sense of humour, and a great knowledge of character, and her rule, in consequence, was as firm and tactful as it was gentle and loving, "so strong, so quiet, and so winning" (see *Church Chronicle for South Africa*, February 17, 1910).

CHAPTER XLVI

Departure of Sir Henry Loch, March 1895—Consecration of Church of the Good Shepherd, Robben Island, and of Christ Church, Constantia—Consecration of Dr. Gaul, Bishop of Mashonaland—Provincial Missionary Conference, Maritzburg—Political crisis, 1896—Illness of Coadjutor Bishop—Wreck of the *Drummond Castle*—Mashona rising and bravery of C. J. Rhodes—Opening of the new St. Cyprian's—Consecration of Chancel of St. Stephen's, Lower Paarl—Death of Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury—Death of Miss M. Allen—The Metropolitan's Special Fund for the poorer parishes of the Diocese—Liberality of the coloured congregations in Capetown Diocese.

AT the end of March 1895 Sir Henry Loch concluded his term of office as Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner, and departed for England with Lady Loch, amid the universal regret of the people of the Cape, and of South Africa generally. The farewell meeting in the Houses of Parliament, before they left, was attended by an unprecedented crowd, from whom they received an enthusiastic demonstration of that affectionate regard in which both were held throughout South Africa, and at the Cape in particular. The Metropolitan and a large number of the Clergy had been present at this public farewell; but wishing to do something more to show their gratitude, they went four days later to Government House, and presented an address and a book of photographs of the Cape, with the inscription, "To H.E. Sir Henry and Lady Loch, a slight token of affectionate regard, and in thankful recognition of numerous acts of generosity and devotion to the work of the Church in this Diocese." The special reference was to all that the Governor and Lady Loch had done towards the maintenance of the House of Mercy and the building of All Saints' Home.

On Good Friday, April 12, the Metropolitan took the "Three Hours' " Service in St. Paul's Church, Rondebosch, as he had done in some previous years elsewhere, and on Wednesday in Easter-week he went over with a large party of Clergy and others to the Consecration of the new "Church of the Good Shepherd " for the leper Christians on Robben Island, the gift of their Chaplain, the Rev. W. U. Watkins. It was a glorious calm day of bright sunshine, sky and sea a radiant blue. The Church itself, solidly built of a dark-grey, slate-like stone, quarried on the island, is a gem of beauty, thoroughly devotional in all its arrangements, and all within is good in quality and harmonious in colour.

Constantia Church, in a district formerly included in Wynberg, but now made an independent parish, was also consecrated in this year, on November 21, and, like St. Andrew's, Newlands, which it most nearly resembles, and the Church of the Good Shepherd on Robben Island, it has real architectural beauty.

There were also in 1895 two events of Provincial importance. A few days after the Consecration of the Church on Robben Island, the Metropolitan went up to Bloemfontein, and there in the Cathedral of St. Andrew and St. Michael, on St. Mark's Day, April 25, with the assistance of the Bishops of Pretoria (Bousfield), St. John's, Kaffraria (Key), and Bloemfontein (Hicks), he consecrated the Ven. William Thomas Gaul, Archdeacon of Kimberley, to the See of Mashonaland. And in October he went again to Maritzburg, as in 1893, for a Missionary Conference ; but this time the Conference was Provincial, not Diocesan, and was attended by six other Bishops of the Province. It began on October 19 with a series of Celebrations in most of the various languages used in the Province, the Metropolitan himself celebrating in English at a great Choral Celebration at 8.30 A.M. in St. Saviour's Cathedral. The concluding Celebration on October 24 was in the Church of St. Luke, Maritzburg, which was consecrated that day. Whilst the Conference was still sitting, a large Missionary meeting was held one evening under the presidency of the Bishop of Natal ; on two other evenings receptions were given by the Mayor and by the Bishop of Natal respectively ;

and the Governor of Natal himself received the Conference one afternoon at Government House.

The year closed with an event which startled South Africa, and indeed Europe also. Tension in the Transvaal was at this time excessive, and on December 29 Dr. Jameson, with an armed force, crossed the western frontier of the Transvaal.

Of the political crisis in the opening days of 1896, and of the events of the following weeks, it is unnecessary to say anything in this book. The Metropolitan, like every one else, shared in the suspense and anxieties of that terrible time. But he took no political side, and only used his influence to calm the prevailing excitement, which might easily have precipitated war. Duty and the instinct to help those in trouble, led him to visit Mr. C. J. Rhodes, on January 6, at the very climax of these disastrous days, when many even of Rhodes' closest associates stood aloof from him, and his life's work seemed irretrievably shattered. And this act of kindness Rhodes himself never forgot.

It was, indeed, a year of troubles of all kinds, and not political only, though these were bad enough. At the end of May the Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown was seriously ill with rheumatic fever, and, though he recovered, he had next year to relinquish the charge of Claremont parish. Then came the news of the loss of the Cape liner, the *Drummond Castle*, which towards the end of a homeward voyage, shortly after midnight on June 17, ran upon a rock at Ushant near the entrance of the English Channel, and foundered in three minutes with nearly 250 persons on board, one passenger and two of the crew being the only survivors.¹ Then there was

¹ The Metropolitan wrote to the Curé of the Island of Molène, to thank him for the kindness and piety he and his people had shown in giving Christian burial in holy ground to the many bodies which were washed ashore after the wreck.

His letter ran as follows :

BISHOPSCOURT, CLAREMONT, CAPE COLONY,
le 16 juillet 1896.

MON CHER FRÈRE EN JÉSUS-CHRIST—J'ai le bien vif désir de vous exprimer à vous et à votre troupeau les sentiments de profonde gratitude qui remplissent mon cœur, celui du clergé et des fidèles de mon diocèse, celui de toute l'Afrique du Sud. Nous sommes émus des témoignages d'affection et de sympathie que vous nous avez donnés en déposant, selon les rites de l'Eglise, dans le sein de votre terre sacrée les corps de nos amis qui ont succombé près de votre île, lors du naufrage du *Drummond Castle*.

Votre bonté contribuera beaucoup, par la grâce de Dieu, à rapprocher deux grandes

the Mashona rising in the middle of the year, accompanied by the massacre of several of the European families and settlers in Rhodesia, and the extreme danger for a long time of all the rest. There followed a guerilla warfare with the natives, Matabeles as well as Mashonas, which was only ended by the courageous action of Mr. Rhodes himself, who went boldly with a small party to parley with the chiefs in the fastnesses of the Matopo hills, and placed himself absolutely at their mercy, not on one day only, but for a whole fortnight, till he completely won their confidence by his bravery. In this year, too, swarms of locusts devastated the districts of George, Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Prince Albert, Heidelberg, and Swellendam, devouring everything that a severe drought had left. They even penetrated to Robertson. Not for half a century had they been seen so far westward, and the damage they did was enormous. Lastly, to add to all the other miseries of this ill-omened year, the fearfully destructive rinderpest, coming down from the far North, began its relentless march through the land from the Zambesi to the Cape, and, in spite of all that could be done to stop it, swept away cattle in vast numbers.

Some rays of light, however, came to brighten this dark

nations l'une de l'autre, à resserrer les liens existant entre les membres de deux Eglises qui se sont trop longtemps méconnues.

Puisse le Dieu tout Puissant vous bénir vous et votre troupeau et vous récompenser de votre charité et de votre piété !

Veuillez agréer la nouvelle assurance de notre gratitude et de notre estime.—Votre frère et serviteur en Jésus-Christ,

W. W. CAPETOWN, Evêque et Métropolitain.

The Curé's reply was :

ILE MOÏÈNE,
le 1 septembre 1896.

MONSIEUR L'EVÊQUE ET MÉTROPOLITAIN—J'ai été vivement touché de votre très-honorée lettre du 6 juillet et des sentiments de profonde gratitude que vous m'exprimez tant en votre nom qu'au nom de votre clergé, des fidèles de votre diocèse et de toute l'Afrique du Sud, et n'était ma très-nombreuse correspondance anglaise du moment, je n'aurais pas tardé si longtemps à vous remercier.

En ce qui concerne les témoignages d'affection et de sympathie de ma part en déposant dans le sein d'une terre sacrée les corps de vos amis, victimes du naufrage du *Drummond Castle*, je n'ai fait qu'accomplir strictement les derniers devoirs d'un frère à l'égard de ses frères.

Laissez-moi vous dire combien grande est la part que je prends à votre douleur et à celle de tous les amis et parents des malheureuses victimes de la terrible catastrophe du *Drummond Castle* et daignez agréer, avec ma vive condoléance, les sentiments respectueux avec lesquels je suis, Monseigneur, de votre Grandeur, le très-humble et dévoué serviteur en N.-S. Jésus-Christ,

G. LE JEUNE, Recteur.

A Sa Grandeur,

Monseigneur L'Evêque et Métropolitain de Capetown.

time. In June, Sister Theodora, who was in charge of St. Cyprian's School, telegraphed to the Metropolitan, whilst away on his visitation, to say that the hundredth girl had just been entered on the books, the first time the School had reached this number, and on July 25, St. James's Day, the Metropolitan had the satisfaction of opening the fine buildings of the new St. Cyprian's School in Annandale Street amid great rejoicing, and two days later consecrated the new Chancel of St. Stephen's Church, Lower Paarl. In September the Rev. Father Page, Superior of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, arrived, bringing with him Father Waggett, who remained in the Diocese, when Father Page himself went on to India. In the same ship came also the lady doctor, Miss E. Pellatt, who was now to begin her work amongst the Malays of Capetown. All these things were full of encouragement.

Edward White Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, died suddenly at Hawarden on Sunday, October 11. The news was, of course, telegraphed all over the world, and appeared next day in the Capetown papers. It has been seen that the Metropolitan in past times had differed from Dr. Benson on some important matters relating to the Church in South Africa. Yet he had always retained a strong personal regard for him, and was deeply touched when, more than a fortnight after the telegraphic news, he received an autograph reply to a letter he had written to him in September. Preaching in St. George's Cathedral, Capetown, on November 1, the next Sunday, he said :

To me personally the death of the Archbishop is the loss of an always warm and sympathetic friend. It seemed like a voice from the grave when, nearly three weeks after the Archbishop had been carried out of Hawarden Church to die, I received a long letter in his own handwriting about the approaching Lambeth Conference, signed "your most affectionate brother and friend." It was written from Belfast only four days before his death, and must have been one of the last letters he ever wrote, a letter to be cherished and preserved as one of the choicest treasures I possess.

In February 1897 Miss Alice Margaret Allen, a niece of Mrs. West Jones, came down from Rhodesia, where she had gone safely through the perils of the Mashona rising of

the previous year. She had had malarial fever up country, and was still suffering from its effects. A few days afterwards came a sudden change for the worse. She died on February 19, and was buried next day in the lovely little churchyard of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Protea, in the wood beyond Bishopscourt, and close beneath the splendid precipices of Table Mountain.

Before he left for England to attend the third Lambeth Conference, the Metropolitan made a personal canvass on behalf of his own "Special Fund for the poorer parishes of the Diocese," and secured £800 towards the capital invested for this Fund, and £600 per annum in subscriptions, £200 being from Mr. C. J. Rhodes. He also received from England a little later a gift of £1000 for the same purpose. Yet it is interesting to find how much the poorer people of the Diocese were doing at this very time to help the work amongst themselves. Elsewhere in the Diocese it was impossible to discriminate between what was given by Europeans and what was given by others. But from a statistical summary, relating to twenty-three purely Mission congregations, and drawn up by his Chaplain at the Metropolitan's request, it appears that the annual sum raised was no less than £2565, of which, in round figures, £1000 went towards the support of their Clergy, and £1500 towards buildings, Church expenses, and Diocesan purposes. It is a result which will compare favourably with what is done in most parts of England, especially if it be remembered that these twenty-three congregations correspond to twenty-three country villages in which there is not so much as a single person of position or wealth.

CHAPTER XLVII

Presentation of sapphire ring to the Metropolitan—Title of Archbishop adopted by the Metropolitan at the request of the Bishops of the Province, and with the approbation of the Lambeth Conference, 1897.

THE Bishops of the Province of South Africa attending the Lambeth Conference met in the Church House, Westminster, on June 4, 1897, to present the Metropolitan with an Episcopal ring set with a sapphire. The ring was the gift of the Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons of the Province, numbering, in all, twenty-four. In the accompanying address the contributors described their gift as intended to be "a token of the love which we bear towards you, and a memorial of your having presided over the Province for one-and-twenty years,¹ and we send it with the prayer that God in His goodness will spare you to us for many years to come, and support you throughout them with the fulness of His blessing."

This presentation was a delightful surprise to the Metropolitan, who was much touched by this proof of the respect and affection in which he was held.

At the end of July, upon the unanimous request of the Bishops of the Province, and with the full concurrence of the whole Lambeth Conference then assembled, he assumed the additional title of Archbishop. This new name conferred upon him no new powers. Under the full style of "Archbishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of the Province of South Africa" he exercised precisely the same authority that from the beginning of his Episcopate had attached, by

¹ There had been some delay in the preparation of the ring. At the time of the presentation it was twenty-three years since the Metropolitan's Consecration. The ring is now one of the heirlooms of the Diocese of Capetown.

the Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province, to his office as Metropolitan. But the change of title from Bishop to Archbishop, though not carrying with it increase of actual authority and power, was doubtless a real advantage to the Church of the Province as a matter of clearness and prestige. Every one understands the honourable name of Archbishop, but not every one knows what is implied by the equally important name of Metropolitan.

It was a happy thing that the new title should be first used by one who had laboured so long in South Africa, and was so well known and so widely beloved in his own Diocese and throughout the Province. Whilst he was still absent in England, a leading article on the title of Archbishop appeared in the Capetown Diocesan Magazine, the *Cape Church Monthly*, for September 1897. After reviewing the sequence of events which had gradually led to the adoption of the title, the article ended thus :

We need hardly add that to us of the Capetown Diocese a certain personal element must needs enter into our thoughts. The added dignity thus conferred upon our Diocesan will not, of course, increase our feelings of loyalty and of love for him, who in God's Providence has been appointed our chief Pastor in this land. It would be difficult, indeed, to increase the sentiments of love and loyalty which, we doubt not, animate us all. But the advance of more exact ecclesiastical organization, after the pattern of the Mother Church, may stimulate us all to labour the more earnestly for our Church and her Divine Master, and may lead us to pray the more faithfully and heartily that the first Archbishop of Capetown may be long spared to continue that good work, which he has been so long enabled to do, for the Diocese and for the Province, in the same spirit of sincerity, faithfulness, and love.

The steps preceding the adoption of the title of Archbishop for the Metropolitan of the Province of South Africa were briefly these :—

(i.) In 1870 the First Provincial Synod of South Africa passed a Resolution (No. 16), which, after an explanatory preamble, runs thus :

This Synod is of opinion that it would prevent misapprehensions as to the Ecclesiastical status of the several Provinces of the Anglican Communion as co-ordinate members of the same Body, and might be expedient for other causes, if all the Metropolitans of these Provinces

should hold the same title; and it requests the Bishops of this Province to take such measures as in their judgement may be best calculated to obtain sufficient Ecclesiastical recognition of the title of Archbishop for the Metropolitan of this Province.

(ii.) In 1888 the Australian Church brought before the Lambeth Conference the matter of the suggested adoption of the title of Archbishop in Australia, and a strong committee appointed by the Conference inquired into the whole subject of Colonial Archbishoprics, and reported *inter alia* :

That there are cases of important Provinces in which distinct advantages would result from adopting the ancient and honoured title of Archbishop.

(iii.) In 1891 the Fourth Provincial Synod of South Africa resolved :

That the Bishops of the Province be respectfully requested to give effect to Resolution 16 of the Provincial Synod of 1870, viz.

[Here the Resolution is quoted *in extenso* as under (i.) above.]

(iv.) In September 1894, a petition was presented to the Episcopal Synod, signed by a large majority of the Clergy of the Province of South Africa, and expressing an "earnest desire" that the Bishops "should take immediate action with regard to the adoption of the title of Archbishop for the Metropolitan of this Province," *i.e.* of South Africa. To this petition the Bishops replied by an unanimous Resolution :

That the Bishops of the Province, having taken into serious consideration the Resolution of the Provincial Synod of 1891, and having further given careful and respectful consideration to the exceedingly weighty memorial presented by Clergy of this Province on the subject, are unanimous in their judgement, that the right and proper title of the Metropolitan of this Province is Archbishop; but at the same time, strongly desiring to emphasize the unity of this Province with the Mother Church of England and with the other Provinces of the Anglican Communion, they unanimously resolve that the formal adoption and promulgation of the title be postponed until the meeting of the next Lambeth Conference.

(v.) In 1897 several Provinces, including that of South Africa, asked the Lambeth Conference to consider the question of the use of the title of Archbishop for Metro-

politans in different parts of the world outside the British Isles. This consideration was given on July 26, and on July 27 the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Temple) formally announced to the Conference the decision arrived at by a Resolution passed *nemine contradicente* the day before, viz. :

That the Bishops now assembled—(1) recognize the adoption of the title of Archbishop in the Province of Canada ; (2) consider that the adoption of the title is desirable in the cases of the Provinces of South Africa, the West Indies, and New South Wales.

(vi.) On July 28, 1897, the Bishops of the Province of South Africa met, and passed the following Resolution :

The Bishops of the Province, assembled in the Library of Lambeth Palace on Wednesday, July 28, 1897, and acting in accordance with the Resolutions of the Provincial Synods of 1870 and 1891, request the Metropolitan to adopt and use henceforth the title of Archbishop of Capetown. In taking this step they are assured of the recognition of the title on the part of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion assembled at Lambeth, as expressed in their meeting of July 26, 1897.

(vii.) A copy of this Resolution was forthwith sent to all Metropolitans of the Anglican Communion, together with a notification that the Archbishop of Capetown had seen fit to act in accordance with it.

CHAPTER XLVIII

Return to the Cape—New Archiepiscopal Seal—Incidents of a visit to Namaqualand—A series of Consecrations and Dedications—Fifth Provincial Synod, 1898, and the Canon on Marriage.

THE Archbishop of Capetown, as he was now styled, left England on April 30, 1898,¹ on his return voyage to the Cape. His ship, which had been expected on May 17—the twenty-fourth anniversary of his Consecration—was, unfortunately, a day late, and he therefore did not arrive in time for the Festival Service arranged for that evening in Capetown Cathedral. But after his landing an additional Thanksgiving Service was held, and then an address was presented by the Clergy of the Diocese; and he was told that a new Archiepiscopal Seal was in preparation, which they intended to ask him to accept as their own gift in commemoration of his twenty-four years' Episcopate. The design of this seal, which arrived in November, was:

In the centre, beneath tabernacle work, a large figure of St. George, the patron saint of the Cathedral, modelled after the statue by Donatello outside the Church of Or San Michele in Florence. On the left, St. Augustine, the first Archbishop of the English, with an Archbishop's Cross in one hand, and a model of the Cathedral of Canterbury in the other. On the right, St. Columba, the Missionary of Northern Britain, represented in the act of landing from a boat, and carrying on his hand a dove, in reference to the signification of his name. Underneath, in the lower part of the vesica of the seal, a small figure of the Archbishop himself in cope and mitre, the Archiepiscopal Cross in his left hand, and his right hand raised in the act of blessing. Small shields bearing his own coat of arms and that of the Diocese fill up the space on either side.

¹ During his absence had been held—January 13 to January 20, under the presidency of the Coadjutor Bishop (Dr. Gibson)—the Eleventh Synod of the Diocese of Capetown, the only Synod during all the Archbishop's long Episcopate at which he did not himself preside.

The whole seal is a remarkably beautiful and delicate piece of work, and was executed by the well-known artist and antiquary, Mr. Thomas Moring. It is reproduced on the cover of this book.

The Archbishop was soon in the thick of work again. At the end of July and in the early part of August he spent a fortnight in Namaqualand, where he experienced a great variety of weather—first, whilst he was up-country, rain, sleet, hail, and snow, and at night, frost; and then afterwards, at Port Nolloth, a hot wind and a fierce sandstorm, followed by a very cold north wind. The day before his sailing for Capetown he confirmed in her own cottage an old Hottentot woman, aged 92, in the presence of her son, her grandson, and her great-grandson, a boy of 12. A former teacher of the English Church Mission School at Anenous, an out-station of Port Nolloth, sends an instance of the Archbishop's thoughtfulness, which probably belongs to this particular journey in Namaqualand :

The Archbishop on his way through to O'okiep paid Anenous School—where there had lately been a considerable increase in the roll and in the daily attendance—a surprise visit. He gave a kindly greeting and a few courteous words to a somewhat nervous teacher; and his keen, observant glance travelled round the schoolroom, noting the crowded forms with their far too tightly-packed little figures. The sequel came a few weeks later, in the arrival of several substantial forms as a present to the school.

This, the writer says, may seem but a small incident; yet it shows a sympathetic regard for the concerns of others, the recollection of which will always dwell in her own mind, and which she desires to record "as a tribute to a great and good man." She also sends an astonishing proof of the Archbishop's retentive memory which she noted seven years earlier, also at Anenous :

At the conclusion of a preparatory Service for candidates for Confirmation, he looked very earnestly at two of the young candidates, and remarked, "Surely I have seen your faces somewhere before." It turned out that one candidate had been present at the Confirmation of his sister at Robben Island some years ago, and the other, about eleven years previously, had been a fellow-passenger from England to the Cape in the *Dunrobin Castle*. I had often heard of the Archbishop's remarkable gift for remembering faces he had once

seen, and surely this is a wonderful example of it, when one bears in mind what countless numbers of new faces must necessarily have passed his view in the course of his work in the Diocese of Capetown alone.

In the last three months of the year came a series of Consecrations and Dedications : October 13—the Consecration of the new Church of St. James, Sea Point ; October 16—the Dedication of the new part of St. Mary's Church, Woodstock, and the Dedication of the new buildings of St. Columba's Home, Capetown ; November 5—Benediction of the new Chapel at All Saints' Home ; December 13—Consecration of the new Church of St. Barnabas, Capetown, completed chiefly at the expense of the Rev. T. O. S. Davies, who became first Rector of the new parish, in which he also built the Rectory, and, later on, a school-chapel of St. Augustine in an outlying district.

In the Fifth Provincial Synod, which opened on October 22, and remained in session at Capetown until the afternoon of November 9, a motion by Dr. Hicks, Bishop of Bloemfontein, to alter the Provincial Canon on Holy Matrimony, was very keenly discussed in a debate extending over several days. As the Canon stood, previous to this Synod, it forbade the Clergy of the Province to officiate at the remarriage of a guilty divorced person. It also left them absolutely free from any obligation to officiate at the remarriage of a not-guilty divorced person ; but in such a case it did not actually forbid them to officiate, if they chose. The Bishop's proposal was that the Church of South Africa should return to the stricter rule of the Church of England, which in her Book of Common Prayer and in her Canons recognizes no dissolution of the marriage bond, save by death, and consequently permits no remarriage at all, so long as both the partners of a real marriage are still alive.

Opinions were for a long time sharply divided, and not unnaturally ; for to some the greater strictness of principle involved in the proposal was bound to seem, at first sight, an undue severity. But in the course of debate the indissolubility of true marriage was so convincingly shown to be the principle of the Church of England, that on Friday afternoon, October 28, after a closing speech from the

Archbishop, the motion on a Vote by Orders was carried practically unanimously, first by the Laity,¹ then by the Clergy, then by the Bishops. And it was carried also in its integrity, though it took the following simplified form :

The Synod hereby declares its adherence to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England concerning Marriage and Divorce.²

What ensued may be best related in the words of one who was a member of that Synod :

"Few of us," he says, "will ever forget the sequel. The Archbishop's voice shook with emotion as he announced the result. 'Let us adjourn,' he said, 'after singing the *Te Deum* as an united act of praise for the decision arrived at.' We were all too highly strung at that moment to deal with any other business. The *Te Deum*—so unusual an interlude in the formal debates of Synod—was sung heartily, and at its close the Archbishop paused before the House of the Laity as he proceeded out of the Synod, with his cross-bearer before him, and said with deep emotion, 'God bless you, my dear brethren of the Laity, for your vote this day.'"

¹ There seems to have been one single dissentient amongst the Laity.

² In 1902 the Archbishop, answering the inquiry of one of the Priests of his Diocese, explains the significance of this Resolution to be that the Church of the Province of South Africa does not recognize any marriage after divorce as permissible for either party, guilty or otherwise, because the Church of England does not, and the law of the Church of England in this matter is the law of the Church of South Africa.

"The Canon," he wrote, "concerning Marriage and Divorce which now obtains in this Church is as follows :

"The Synod hereby declares its adherence to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England concerning Marriage and Divorce."

"By the Law of the Church of England (as distinguished from that of the State, or *Parliamentary Law*) no marriage after divorce is permissible. And although in England the Clergy of the Church, as being established, may be called upon to allow the use of their Churches for such marriages, and may suffer for their refusal ; no such law prevails here. And not only is it the duty of the Clergy to refuse to marry in such cases, and to refuse to allow their Churches to be used ; but such refusal carries with it no penalty from the civil power. I know not how to put the case more clearly."

PART V.—CHAPTERS XLIX.—LXIII.

1899-1907

THE WORK OF THE CHURCH IN YEARS OF
STRESS AND TROUBLE

“The street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times.”

CHAPTER XLIX

Arbitration Court at Johannesburg—Troubles in St. Helena—Dr. Welby, Bishop of St. Helena, killed by carriage accident—A case in the Diocesan Court of St. Helena, June 16, 1899—Death of Dr. Hicks, Bishop of Bloemfontein—Outbreak of South African War—Archbishop's Pastoral Letter—Committees for relief of sick and wounded and of the refugees from up-country—Appeal for All Saints' Home—Arrival of Lord Roberts, January 11, 1900—Kimberley, Paardeberg, Ladysmith, Mafeking—Confirmation of a centenarian—Foundation-stone of new Diocesan College School laid by Duchess of Teck—Robben Island visitation—The Archbishop and the Military Hospitals—Return of Lord Roberts to England—Bicentenary of S.P.G.

THE year 1899, destined to be a year of great stress and strain, had only just begun, when the Archbishop had again to go to Johannesburg, where fresh difficulties had arisen between the Bishop and the Trustees of the Diocese on the one hand, and the Incumbent and Council of the parish of St. Mary's, Johannesburg, on the other. The dispute had reference to the boundaries of the parish and its districts, and to the question of the building of a new Church. The Archbishop presided in the Arbitration Court, which was to settle these matters. The Court sat twice daily from the morning of January 12 till the afternoon of January 14. It went through a vast number of documents, examined witnesses, including both the Bishop of Pretoria and the Incumbent of St. Mary's, and heard Counsel on both sides. The drafting of the award occupied the arbitrators a whole day, and was in favour of St. Mary's, Johannesburg, on all the points raised. The Archbishop reached home again on January 20, after an absence of only eleven days.

A much greater cause of anxiety and trouble had for a

long time been unfolding itself. Nearly six months ago the Archbishop had become engaged in anxious and constant correspondence with Dr. Welby, Bishop of St. Helena, and others, on a very complicated case relating to a priest of the St. Helena Diocese. It had originated as far back as 1897 in St. Helena, and depended also on facts proved against this priest's moral character in the law courts in England in 1893. A brief summary will be found in the *Guardian* of September 27, 1899, p. 1291.

The aged Bishop of St. Helena had long wished to resign, but now could not, because of the awkwardness involved in a vacancy of the See at such a juncture. At his earnest request, the Archbishop of Capetown sent in 1898 his senior Archdeacon, the Ven. P. P. Fogg, to act as Vicar-General in St. Helena; and when, early in 1899, the claims of his parish and Archdeaconry made it necessary for the Archdeacon to return, the Archbishop sent his own domestic Chaplain, the Rev. J. W. Williams, to succeed him as Vicar-General. Meanwhile, on January 6, the Bishop of St. Helena had been killed on the spot by a carriage accident on the road above Jamestown, and his death seemed likely to add still further to the difficulties of the situation.¹ At length, however, the trouble in the Diocese was terminated by a prosecution in the Diocesan Court of St. Helena on June 16. The defendant had left the island while the case was impending and only a very few days before it came on; but he was represented by a Justice of the Peace, who acted as his Counsel. The case was pleaded before the Vicar-General, and occupied about three hours; the argument for the prosecution lasting two hours and a half, and that for the defence about half an hour. Judgement was reserved, and was delivered by the Vicar-General on June 21. The Court declared the case proved against the defendant on all points, and decided that he had disqualified himself from the exercise of any ecclesiastical office. The text of the Judgement may

¹ His successor was the Very Rev. J. G. Holmes, M.A., Dean of Grahamstown, who was consecrated on St. James' Day, July 25, in Capetown Cathedral. At the same time the Rev. C. E. Cornish, D.D., Vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, was consecrated to succeed Dr. Webb, who had resigned the See of Grahamstown. The consecrating Bishops were the Archbishop of Capetown (West Jones), and the Bishops of Pretoria (Bousfield), Bloemfontein (Hicks), Natal (Baynes), Lebombo (Smyth), Coadjutor of Capetown (Gibson).

be read in the Church newspaper for the Province of South Africa, the *Southern Cross* of July 5.

The chief permanent interest of the case lay in the application made of the principle of "irregularity," in the technical sense of the word, *i.e.* disqualification for the exercise of a sacred office by reason of certain grievous offences, which have not been purged; a principle which is expressly named and applied in Canon 113 of the Canons of the Church of England, and was treated as valid and applicable in 1621 in the memorable instance of George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury.¹

The St. Helena case did much more than multiply, from July 1898 onwards, the number of official letters which the Archbishop of Capetown had to write. It also greatly increased his burden of work by depriving him of the services of his Chaplain and Secretary, whom for six whole months it was impossible to replace. Even his Assistant Chaplain did not reach Bishops court till August 6, for he too had been detained at St. Helena on his way out from England, by a cable message from the Archbishop, that he might assist in this important trial. When he at length arrived, the Archbishop's more than usually warm and eager greeting showed how great the anxiety of the last six months had been. As soon as he rang the bell, the Archbishop himself opened the door, and grasping him by the hand, drew him at once into the Chapel close by, and there knelt down with him and prayed, and then rising gave him the solemn blessing he was wont to use on special occasions, ending with the words, "The Lord bless thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth for evermore, until that great coming in, when there shall be no more going out, in the Kingdom of God." Then they came out together, and paced to and fro on the pavement, or "stoep," in front of the house on the courtyard side, whilst the Archbishop inquired how the case had terminated which had so long exercised his own mind and the minds of others high in Church and State in England and in South Africa.

And now the greatest trouble of this troublous year was

¹ See Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. v. (New Series), chap. xxxii. p. 279 ff.

fast approaching. Ever since May, South Africa had been in a state of the utmost suspense. The times were evidently exceedingly critical ; and, as the months went by, the clouds gathered more densely and the shadows deepened ; until at last the storm burst on October 11, and the great South African War began. On the same day Dr. J. W. Hicks, Bishop of Bloemfontein, died at Maseru on the border of Basutoland, *felix opportunitate mortis* ; for he was, indeed, "taken away from the evil to come." Writing of him in the *Cape Church Monthly* of December, the Archbishop said :

The Church of God has become much poorer in this land through the loss of one of the wisest, most learned, and most devoted of her Bishops. Discreet in council, unwearied in labours, profound in learning, a skilled master alike in Theology and in Medicine, loved, honoured, and admired by all who knew him, John Wale Hicks has gone to rest in the Garden of God, where he will never cease to remember and to intercede for us, and for the Diocese and Province, of which he has been for more than seven years so bright an ornament, and so wise a Father.

No narrative of the course of the war will be expected in a book of this kind. Enough only will be said to indicate some of the ways in which the war touched the Archbishop personally, or affected the Church in the Diocese and in the Province.

In May 1899 the Archbishop had long interviews with the High Commissioner for South Africa and with Mr. W. P. Schreiner, Premier of Cape Colony, in the hope of helping to preserve peace. On June 6 he wrote to Lady Barkly in England :

We hear to-day that the Conference at Bloemfontein (*i.e.* between the High Commissioner and President Krüger) is over, and we are anxiously awaiting the announcement of its results. This is to be published to-morrow. I firmly hope that, as we have heard nothing to the contrary, it means peace.

But a day or two later he wrote to his Chaplain, then in St. Helena : "The Conference has ended in nothing but smoke. God grant that it may not be the smoke of the battlefield."

When hostilities had actually begun, he wrote a Pastoral

Letter to be read in all Churches of the Diocese. It is too long to quote in full, but some extracts will show its tone and spirit. He begins :

The die is cast, and South Africa is already the scene of a terrible and internecine war.

Then he says :

Men of equal honour and integrity espouse opposite sides in the present painful controversy . . . we may have our own strong convictions, others have an equal right to theirs.

And he alludes to a particular fact, which heightened the difficulties of the situation, that many, as burghers of an adopted country, were being called upon, in virtue of their burgher's oath, to fight on the opposite side to other members of their own families. After this he continues :

I do not ask you to suppress your convictions, when your sense of justice and the claims of your country call upon you to speak ; but I do ask you, and, as your Father in God, I do proclaim it to be your duty, to endeavour to give expression to those convictions with calmness and moderation, not in a bitter or aggressive tone. I know well how difficult this will prove, when feeling runs high, and when, perhaps, you are met with no corresponding conciliation by those who differ from you. But it is the part of a Christian, and of a lover of his country, even at such times to check his passion and to give a gentle answer back. Violent and bitter words are the sign not of a strong cause, but of a weak one. The man who is strong from a sense of the justice of his own position, can afford to be patient and forbearing. . . .

The Archbishop appointed Sunday, October 29, as a day for intercession, particularly at the celebration of Holy Communion, and authorized in the Diocese a special prayer, founded on one drawn up by Mr. Keble.

Two societies were soon formed at Capetown, one for the relief of the sick and wounded, another to assist the numerous refugees from the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, some of them absolutely destitute, who were now pouring into Capetown and its suburbs, as well as into the other coast towns of Cape Colony and Natal. The Archbishop himself gave liberally towards the funds of both societies, and served upon their committees. He also

visited the Military Hospitals in the neighbourhood of Capetown and the Sanatorium at Claremont, where many wounded officers went at the time of their convalescence. Every now and then, also, it fell to him to go to console some poor widow, whose husband had been killed in the up-country fighting.

In December he had to appeal for aid for All Saints' Home, which was feeling the pinch of the war somewhat acutely. Already at this early period, less than two months after the outbreak of the war, £175 was owing to the Sisterhood for the fees of the children of St. Hilda's, that department of the Home in which children are trained to be pupil teachers and schoolmistresses; and the money could not be paid, because parents or guardians were amongst those cut off from all communication in Kimberley and Johannesburg.

The war went on, and the dark and gloomy days of December were succeeded by the more hopeful period which followed the arrival, on January 11, 1900, of Lord Roberts, who, on the next Sunday, was one of the communicants in Capetown Cathedral, and who found time, during the days he spent at the Cape, to call at Bishops court and have a talk with the Archbishop.

Kimberley was relieved on February 15, and tidings followed, on the last day of February, of the surrender of Cronje at Paardeberg on February 27, and again on March 1 of the relief of Ladysmith on February 28—an event which was announced by such a din of sirens from the transports in Table Bay, that the sound reached the Archbishop eight miles away,¹ as he sat writing in his study at Bishops court. On March 13 the Archbishop confirmed seven young Lancers of the 17th Regiment who had been prepared by one of the military chaplains, and on March 20 he welcomed his nephew, Major (now Brigadier-General) Herbert Jackson, who had come round from Natal, and who went up afterwards in the flying column which relieved Mafeking on May 17. News of this relief reached the Archbishop at Riversdale, during his six weeks' visitation round, and then news of the surrender of Johannesburg on May 31, just after he had

¹ The direct distance, however, as the crow flies, is not so great.

returned home from Mossel Bay. At Swellendam, during this same visitation, he confirmed, amongst others, an old man of over one hundred, who remembered the cession of the Cape to the English in 1806, and he mentions an old couple amongst the communicants at 7.30 A.M., on the Sunday which he spent at Heidelberg, the man eighty-two and his wife more than seventy, who had walked $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles that morning to make their communion.

In June he was present and officiated at the Special Service on the 11th, when the Duchess of Teck laid the foundation-stone of the new Diocesan School buildings at Rondebosch, and a few days later he stayed three days on Robben Island, preaching and confirming, and visiting the leper wards, and the Church folk elsewhere.

"A most touching Confirmation," he writes, "of twenty-six lepers was held on Sunday morning, one poor lad being stretched on his couch at my feet in an advanced condition of disease. Another was confirmed on the following day in the ward, being too ill to be brought to the church. The work of the Clergy on Robben Island is thorough and devoted, and its thoroughness and devotion are fully recognized by those to whom they minister. We had a happy social gathering on Saturday evening. On the Monday morning, the day after the Confirmation, no less than forty-two lepers communicated in the beautiful little church which has been built for them."

In the course of this year the Archbishop rendered a very good service to the Army in South Africa. Certain grave defects had been brought to his knowledge as existing in the management of some of the military hospitals, not at the front, where there might have been valid excuse, but in the immediate neighbourhood of Capetown, where there were no difficulties of means of transport. Speaking at a public meeting in Capetown, the Archbishop described the existence of such defects as nothing short of scandalous, more especially as the ladies of the Cape Peninsula were at the time working energetically to provide those extra delicacies for the sick and convalescent soldiers, which the military authorities could not be expected to supply. In particular he referred to one military hospital, where the sick and wounded had not even enough blankets, and had to sleep without bedsteads on the damp ground in the wet

winter season, and he said the doctor responsible for that hospital must be "a disgrace to his profession." Next day in one of the Cape daily papers there appeared a letter signed by a large number of officers, and entirely exculpating the doctor to whom he had alluded. But the same officers wrote privately to the Archbishop to say that he was perfectly right as to the facts, which were indeed exactly as he had stated them. Only, they said, the doctor himself was not to blame, for he had applied more than once for the things needed, and his application had been disregarded! The Archbishop, of course, immediately and unreservedly withdrew the personal reference to the doctor, and apologized fully to him. But he withdrew nothing else; and, although many of his friends, both in England and at the Cape, thought that he must have spoken somewhat hastily, and must have been misinformed, the event proved him right. The case quoted was not a solitary one, but only one of the worst. Largely in consequence of his outspoken denunciation of such a state of things, the War Office were induced to appoint a Commission to investigate on the spot the whole matter of the Military Hospitals. The Commission evidently began their proceedings in the full expectation of discovering great mistakes and exaggerations; but in the end, after a careful sifting of evidence, their report practically substantiated everything that had been alleged, and the reforms which their report recommended have no doubt rendered any such mismanagement henceforth impossible.

The year was just drawing to an end, when Lord Roberts came down from the north on his way home, and after three days in Capetown, where he was received with every mark of respect and honour, sailed for England on December 11.

In view of the Bicentenary of the S.P.G., which it was proposed to celebrate in different ways throughout a whole twelvemonth from June 15, 1900, to June 16, 1901, the Archbishop issued to his Clergy in June of the former year a long Pastoral Letter, in which he urged them to bring the claims of the Society energetically before their people. He calculated, he said, that in South Africa the Society, since it began its operations, must have supported 545 missionaries and spent altogether £820,000, and something between

£150,000 and £200,000 in Capetown Diocese itself.¹ He recommended that in each parish the entire collection on one Sunday in 1900, and, if possible, on another in the first half of 1901, should be given to the Society as a thank-offering; and that in each parish there should be a public meeting in each year at some time before the Sunday so chosen.

These and other proposals were duly carried out; and in Capetown itself, on June 29, St. Peter's Day, there was a Choral Celebration at the Cathedral, the Archbishop being both celebrant and preacher, and in the evening a splendidly-organized meeting in the Good Hope Hall, with the Governor, Sir Alfred Milner, in the chair. The Archbishop wrote of it afterwards:

The Governor was loudly welcomed, and spoke admirably; there was a tremendous crowd; and the singing, led by a massed choir of some three hundred voices, and taken up by the thronged assembly, was simply magnificent.

¹ Similarly he had pointed out in 1898, the S.P.C.K. Bicentenary year, that the S.P.C.K. had given to the Diocese in the course of the past thirteen years grants amounting to no less than £2440, and to the Province in a single year, 1897, as much as £2500, besides helping generously in the endowment, when required, of new Sees.

CHAPTER L

The Ethiopian Movement, 1892—The Bishops of the Province and the Ethiopian Order, 1900—Subsequent history of the Order—Work of Fathers Alfred and Puller, Revs. W. M. Cameron, G. C. Fletcher, E. C. West, A. C. Grant—Troubles in the Order, 1905 to 1907—Provincial Synod of 1909—Rev. J. M. Dwane ordained Priest and re-appointed Provincial, 1911.

IN August 1900 an event took place which was of the highest ecclesiastical importance. The Bishops of the Province, acting on behalf of the Church, accepted the petition of a large body of Ethiopian Christians for union with the Church of the Province, and constituted what is known as the "Ethiopian Order."

The first "Ethiopian" movement dates from a time some eight years earlier.¹ In 1892 certain Wesleyan native converts at Johannesburg, being refused by the local Wesleyan authorities permission to preach to other natives in the mines, determined to form a new religious community for natives only, and adopted for themselves the name of the "Ethiopian Church," because they had, no doubt, been told that passages in the Old Testament, which spoke of the "Morians," or "Ethiopians," referred to the dark native races of Africa. Two years later they were joined by Mr. James Mata Dwane, a man of high rank in the native tribe of the Amagqunukwebe, who had previously been a leading native minister among the Wesleyans. He brought with him a number of other Wesleyan natives, and speedily became the leader of the new religious body. But he felt that some rule of Faith and some definite Church Discipline were

¹ Much of the first part of the following account is taken from a summary of an article by the Rev. Father Puller in *The East and the West* of 1903. This summary was printed in the *South African Provincial Church Directory* of 1905 and the three succeeding years.

needed, and, to obtain these, he and others were sent to America in 1896 to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, commonly known as the A.M.E. The presiding Minister of the A.M.E., Bishop Turner, thereupon came to South Africa, visited the chief Ethiopian centres, set apart certain Ethiopian preachers as deacons and elders, and ordained Mr. Dwane Vicar-Bishop. His action, however, was not ratified by the A.M.E. authorities in the United States ; and Mr. Dwane himself, when he went over to America in 1898, though received with kindness, failed to obtain official recognition as Vicar-Bishop. In the next year, 1899, Mr. Dwane became acquainted at Queenstown with the Rev. Julius Gordon,¹ who explained to him that the A.M.E., never having themselves received it, could not give the Grace which comes through the Apostolic Ministry and is conveyed by Episcopal Ordination, and yet that upon this Grace the Catholic Church depends for its very existence. Mr. Dwane, in his turn, explained everything to his people at their own Conference at Queenstown, and the result was that the Conference, after a discussion lasting several days, determined indeed to thank the A.M.E. for their kindness to them, but passed also the two following Resolutions :

1. That, having regard to the great importance of Christian unity, and being convinced that the Scriptural and historical safeguard of the same is the Catholic Church, this Conference resolves to petition His Grace the Archbishop of Capetown, and the other Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, to give our Body a valid Episcopate and Priesthood, and to make such arrangements, as may be possible, to include our Body within the fold of the Catholic Church, on the lines indicated in our Superintendent's letters to the Archbishop of Capetown.

2. That this Conference accepts and embraces the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline of Christ, as the same are contained and commanded in Holy Scripture, according as the Church of England has set forth the same in its Standards of Faith and Doctrine.

After this, Mr. Dwane and a Committee of the Conference had an interview with the Bishop of Grahamstown, in whose Diocese Queenstown is situated, who then made a report upon this interview to the Archbishop of Capetown.

¹ Dean of Pretoria, 1912.

In February 1900, at the Archbishop's request, the Bishops of St. John's (Bransby Key) and Grahamstown (Dr. Cornish), with certain Priests chosen by them, met Mr. Dwane and his Committee at King William's Town, and again the results of this meeting were reported to the Archbishop, who now decided to summon a special Episcopal Synod at Grahamstown in August, to consider the whole matter, and to meet there the representatives of the Ethiopian Conference.

The Bishops sat in Synod at Grahamstown on Tuesday, August 21, and in the morning of the next day, Wednesday, August 22. Then in the afternoon the Bishops assembled in the Chancel of Grahamstown Cathedral, and a congregation, to whom the Archbishop delivered an address, were gathered in the nave. After some special prayers, and the singing of the *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, the Bishops retired to the Chapter-House, where they met Mr. Dwane and his Committee, to whom a Resolution of friendly welcome was first read. Next, the Archbishop went through and explained, sentence by sentence, the proposals which the Bishops had drawn up in Synod, and ended by saying that the main substance of these proposals was unalterable, though details might be changed. Mr. Dwane and his Committee thanked the Bishops and withdrew.

The following day Mr. Dwane reported to the Archbishop that, after prayer, the Ethiopians had determined to accept the proposals, and to leave themselves absolutely in the hands of the Bishops. On Sunday, August 26, Mr. Dwane was himself received into the fellowship of the Church, and confirmed by the Archbishop on the presentation of the Bishop of Grahamstown, in whose private Chapel at Bishopsbourne he received next day his First Communion. He was also formally appointed on this Sunday first Provincial of the new "Order of Ethiopia." And lastly he was, at the December Ordination, admitted to Deacons' Orders by the Bishop of Grahamstown.

Immediately after the conclusion of the negotiations, the Bishops drew up in Synod a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Province, reviewing the position with which they had had to deal, and stating the line they had

deemed it right to take. In this Letter the Bishops said that intercourse and correspondence with Bishops and Clergy of the Province had produced

. . . the conviction on the part of the leaders of the Ethiopian Community, that they ought to seek in the Church of the Province for that security in Catholic and Apostolic order which they had sought in vain elsewhere. . . . At the same time the leaders of the movement felt that, if it was to be preserved from falling into chaos and disintegration by individual secessions, it was desirable to retain for it, in connexion with the Church, something of its corporate character; and the question arose how far it was possible for us to secure this end without sacrificing our own principles of Church order and unity, and especially the great principle that in the Church of Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but that all nations are one in Christ. The question appeared to the Archbishop of such gravity and difficulty as to call for a special Synod of Bishops for its consideration. After much prayer and long deliberation, and in full reliance on the presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit, we unanimously agreed to a Scheme which we have set forth in the appended document.¹

The difficulty which at once presented itself to us was that, however strong and sincere might be the convictions of those who had taken the lead in approaching the Church, it was hardly conceivable that precisely the same mental process should have been taking place at the same moment in the minds of a multitude of individuals. It will be noticed, therefore, that our Scheme provides for no reception of the members of the Ethiopian Community in the mass; but only of the individuals, as they shall give proof of real conviction and apprehension of truth.

We feel that we have taken a step of much gravity, and one which may make demands upon the forbearance and goodwill of Parish Clergy and Mission Priests within whose districts the newly admitted Missions may be situated. We are aware also that some of the provisions of our Scheme will need the confirmation of the Provincial Synod. We have weighed the difficulties and the objections which have been suggested, and those which seem likely to

¹ This document follows, as an appendix, at the end of the whole Pastoral Letter. It may be read, reprinted in its entirety, in the *South African Provincial Church Directory* for 1905 and the three succeeding years. It was signed on behalf of the Church of the Province by the Bishops present in this special Synod, viz. the Archbishop of Capetown (West Jones), the Bishop administering the Diocese of Bloemfontein (Webb), and six other Bishops, namely, Pretoria (Bousfield), Natal (Baynes), Lebombo (Smyth), Coadjutor of Capetown (Gibson), Mashonaland (Gaul), Grahamstown (Cornish). On behalf of the Ethiopians, it was also signed by Mr. J. M. Dwane and the Committee of the Ethiopian Conference.

The "Scheme," which is the most important part, is now commonly and conveniently known as the *Compact of 1900*, and will be found on pp. 332-334 below.

arise ; but we have come to the belief that the moving of the Spirit of God has been plainly visible in the humble and sincere appeal to us from these men for a share of the gifts and graces which God has, in His mercy, bestowed upon our Church. And in the presence of this belief the difficulties have seemed to us light in the balance ; and we look forward with confidence and joy to the opportunity which is offered us of helping and guiding a movement which has already appealed so forcibly to the native mind, and opens up such bright prospects for the future. Believing, as we do, that the day will come, in God's good time, when all the nations shall walk in the light of the City of God and shall bring their glory into it, we are convinced that our Church would have failed in her duty, if she proved incapable of welcoming, and of comprehending, such elements of native thought and devotion as have thus been working out their own development. We look to brotherly love, patient wisdom, and readiness to impart and to receive new modes of thought and activity, under the guidance of the Blessed Spirit, to surmount the hindrances which still remain, or which may arise, and to carry out what has been begun to great and fruitful issues for the promotion of God's Glory and the extension of His Kingdom.

The first Missioner appointed to visit the Ethiopian Mission centres was the Rev. Alfred Kettle, from the Diocese of St. John's, Kaffraria, well known as Father Alfred of the Community of St. Cuthbert. He began his work in October, but had only just presented to the Bishop of Grahamstown a careful and valuable report, when he was taken ill with fever, and died on November 27. Another strong supporter of the Ethiopian Order, Bransby Key, Bishop of St. John's, died in England on January 12, 1901, from an injury to one of his eyes in a cart accident some months before. The Bishop of Grahamstown then wrote to Father Puller, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, asking him whether he could suggest any one for the work of Missioner. In reply, Father Puller offered to come himself ; and his offer was gratefully accepted. So from May 1901 to February 1902 Father Puller lived in a small house in the native location near Queenstown, and occupied himself in teaching fourteen of the leading Ethiopian Elders, twelve of whom he recommended at the end of that time as fit to receive Catechists' licences : seven for work in the Grahamstown Diocese, three in the Diocese of St. John's, one at Kimberley in the Diocese of Bloemfontein, and one

at Johannesburg in the Diocese of Pretoria. From February, when the College work came to an end, until the following July, Father Puller was visiting the Ethiopian Mission stations and preparing candidates for Confirmation. In July he was obliged to return to England; but he was succeeded by the Rev. W. M. Cameron, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Ryde, who had worked as a Missionary in the Diocese of St. John's from 1879 to 1889, and had a thorough knowledge of the Kafir language. Mr. Cameron arrived in September, visited the Mission stations of the Order, and then, settling down a few miles from Iquibica, near King William's Town, gave himself to the careful instruction of Catechists, with a view to making them capable of teaching their own people. The Rev. G. C. Fletcher, Vicar of All Saints', Clapton, came out towards the end of 1902 to aid him, but in September 1903 had to return to England; and so had Mr. Cameron in December of that year. They were succeeded by the Rev. E. C. West, Chaplain of Cuddesdon Theological College, who obtained help in 1905 from the Rev. A. Cardross Grant, and from others after that date. In 1903 the Bishop of Grahamstown wrote: "That the blessing of God has rested upon the movement, and that the Holy Spirit is guiding it, no one, who has watched the progress of the work, can doubt." He said that he had been "everywhere struck with the reverent behaviour and rapt devotion of the worshippers."

The same happy condition of things continued to prevail throughout 1904. In a letter published on June 22 in the *Eastern Province Herald*, in reply to some recent correspondence in that paper reflecting upon the action of the Bishops in regard to the Ethiopians, the Bishop of Grahamstown wrote:

I know that some people consider that the Bishops acted unwisely when, in August 1900, they laid down the terms on which Mr. Dwane and his followers should be received. But I would ask your readers to bear in mind that the members of the Provincial Synod held in Capetown in January last, after full discussion and after hearing Mr. Dwane's speech, not only accepted, but approved of the action of the Bishops in this matter.¹

¹ See *Acts and Resolutions of the Provincial Synod of 1904*, No. xxi. "The Order of Ethiopia," § 3, in *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (ed. 1904), p. III.

In conclusion, I would plead with those who may be uneasy about the movement, if they cannot approve, at any rate to suspend their judgement. For myself, I am perfectly content to wait for the verdict of the future. Surely, even from a political point of view, the Bishops were right to face the question, and accept the grave responsibility of guiding and controlling a religious movement, the leaders of which placed themselves in their hands, rather than allow them to go their own way without help or counsel.

In the same letter the Bishop mentions his recent visit to the principal Ethiopian centre, Zalaze near Iquibica, the reception of 280 persons into the Church, the Confirmation of 303, and the admission of 336 to Holy Communion. And the Rev. E. C. West, describing in the *Haileyburian* the Services at Zalaze on this occasion, *i.e.* Trinity Sunday, 1904, says :

After Matins the Bishop confirmed the two old men (one was the chief of a neighbouring tribe who had walked all the Friday night, but had nevertheless arrived too late for the Confirmation on Saturday morning). And then we gave them their First Communion—336 persons altogether, of whom all but three (the Bishop, my white catechist, and myself) were black. I must leave the devout to imagine the whole scene. I cannot describe it. I can only say that it seems to bring one very near to the days of the Acts of the Apostles. The Bishop said to me after it was over, "Well, West, people pity us for leaving our homes, and coming all this way ; but it was worth it for these two days alone." And with all my heart I agreed with him.

It must be confessed that the memory of these happier times was almost eclipsed towards the end of 1905, and for the next two years, by serious dissensions and misunderstandings, troubles which were hardly surprising, considering the newness of the venture made in the formation of the "Order," and the fact that the drawing up of a regular Constitution for the Order had been hindered, first by the war, and then by other causes. The Missioners, too, or Chaplains, as they were now called, had been seriously handicapped ever since the departure of the Rev. W. M. Cameron in December 1903 ; because none of them now had that thorough familiarity with the native language and with native habits of thought which can only be acquired by long residence in the country ; and they seem to have misunder-

stood the meaning of some important principles underlying the original Compact between the Bishops and the Ethiopian leaders, and therefore forming part of the basis upon which the Order itself had been founded.¹ Frequent appeals were now made to the Archbishop of Capetown, as Visitor of the Order; and though his personal influence was great, and his impartial reproofs were received by both sides with a respect which certainly would not have been accorded to anyone else, he failed nevertheless to effect more than temporary reconciliations.

The climax, perhaps, of all the trouble was reached in 1906. The flow of correspondence was then almost incessant and most harassing; and, as the Archbishop was planning a very long journey, which will be described later on, he arranged to meet at Grahamstown the representatives of both parties, fixing a date in August, when the Bishop of Grahamstown would have returned from England. About the middle of July, however, to his intense disappointment, there came a letter from the Bishop announcing the postponement of his return. It was far too late to change the day of the meeting, which, trying enough in itself, had to be held with the additional complication of the Bishop's absence. But it was something that the antagonists had, at last, full opportunity to state their respective grievances face to face. Subsequently, on October 12, the Bishop of Grahamstown, the Bishop of St. John's, and the Archbishop himself, then on his return journey from Kaffraria, attended a meeting of the Chapter of the Ethiopian Order at Queens-town. Here the Chapter thoroughly revised the draft Constitution, which the Archbishop read over and explained to the Ethiopian Conference, but said that he should not finally sign it until the Bishops of the Province had seen it and declared their opinion. He next addressed the Conference, calling upon them to show due loyalty to the Bishop and to his Clergy, and to give fair play to the Catechists holding the Bishop's licence. Mr. Dwane, for his part, at the Archbishop's desire, made a full and honourable apology to the

¹ First, the Episcopal Synod in 1907, then a very weighty Commission appointed by the Bishops of the Province in February 1909, and lastly the Provincial Synod in October 1909, all deliberately either pronounced this opinion, or directly implied it, though giving full credit to the Chaplains for their zeal and devotion.

Bishop of Grahamstown for all errors in his own past actions.

In February 1907, after the Consecration of the Rev. W. M. Cameron to the Coadjutor Bishopric of Capetown, the Bishops met in Synod at Bishops court, and devoted an entire week to the consideration of the Ethiopian difficulties, overhauling, sentence by sentence, the whole Constitution, and making numerous amendments, all afterwards to be submitted to the Chapter of the Ethiopian Order for their ratification. They interviewed Mr. Dwane, Provincial of the Order, the Rev. E. C. West, its principal Chaplain, and the Rev. Father Puller; they appointed the Coadjutor Bishop, Dr. Cameron, Acting-Provincial for a time in place of Mr. Dwane; and, finally, they interpreted certain disputed passages in the original *Compact of 1900*, and decided that the Order was "*extra-parochial*" but not "*extra-Diocesan*." These terms were intended to bear the meaning afterwards given to them in the explanation and definition adopted and sanctioned by the Provincial Synod of 1909, viz. :

1. The Order is exempt from, and outside, the ordinary jurisdiction of the Parochial and Missionary Priests; and
2. It acknowledges in all spiritual matters the jurisdiction of the Diocesan Bishop.

The results of the Episcopal Synod were very important. Dr. Cameron, as Acting-Provincial, at once relieved the Archbishop from the pressure of much perplexing correspondence. In the same capacity he has done a simply incalculable amount of other work for the Order, writing numberless letters to Government officials about sites for buildings, etc., or to private individuals, Europeans and natives, about personal matters; presiding at the long debates of several days' duration in the annual Conferences of the Order; keeping registers of the names of its members, and bringing its financial matters into a systematic and satisfactory state. And all this extra business he has transacted with the utmost patience; though carrying on meanwhile the manifold work of Coadjutor Bishop of the Diocese of Capetown with extraordinary fidelity and energy.

The history of the Order since the death in 1908 of Dr. West Jones, the Archbishop of Capetown, under whom it had originated, may now be briefly told.

In the Seventh Provincial Synod in 1909 the whole subject of the Order and of its initiation was debated afresh. Strangely enough, notwithstanding the explicit Resolutions of the Provincial Synod of 1904 cordially approving of what the Bishops had done in constituting the Order, there was still a strong opinion in the Province, and even amongst the members of Synod, that somehow the Church, as a whole, had not yet had a sufficient opportunity of expressing its mind. This, at least, can now no longer be said; for the sifting of the subject in the Seventh Provincial Synod was certainly thorough and exhaustive.

First, after a full discussion ending with a vigorous speech from the Archbishop (Dr. Carter), in which he challenged anyone to show how the Church could have refused, without dishonour, such an appeal as that in 1900; the Synod formally and deliberately accepted the *Compact of 1900* as a whole. Then it appointed two very large and influential Committees, one to review the Compact, the other to review the provisional Constitution of the Order,¹ in consultation with Mr. Dwane and some other leading members of the Order itself. Next the Synod amended and adopted the Reports of both Committees, and referred to the Conference of the Order the results of its deliberations in a document of three parts, entitled *Terms of Reference*, viz. :

- I. An Interpretation of the Compact with a Comment² thereupon.
- II. Recommendations not involving alteration of the Compact.
- III. Alterations in the Compact as proposed by the Provincial Synod.

Finally, the Conference of the Order of Ethiopia, when in February 1910 these *Terms of Reference* were laid before it, willingly accepted them all; and thus was reached at last the conclusion of this long, anxious, and intricate business.³

¹ The *Constitution of the Order of Ethiopia*, as finally amended and accepted, is published, together with the *Compact*, in a pamphlet, which may be had at the Church House, Capetown.

² This *Comment* formally recognized the Conference of the Order of Ethiopia, to which, by inadvertence, no reference had been made in the *Compact of 1900*.

³ For the Reports of these Committees of Synod, and for the *Terms of Reference*, see *Acts and Resolutions of Seventh Provincial Synod (1909) of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, pp. 32-40.

It only remains to add, first, that the Rev. J. M. Dwane was, in January 1911, ordained Priest by Dr. Williams, Bishop of St. John's, and not very long afterwards was reappointed Provincial of the Order, Dr. Cameron, Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, still continuing to act as his adviser; and, secondly, that from the outset the Church Ethiopians, or "Order of Ethiopia," have never taken a political line, nor have they adopted any of the political tenets connected with the name "Ethiopian" as applied to other bodies outside the Catholic Church. The "Order of Ethiopia" is simply an association within the Church and for religious purposes only, an association meant to be, as the Archbishop of Capetown (Dr. West Jones) wrote in 1906, "a powerful instrument of Blessing in the Hands of Almighty God for the evangelization of the many thousands of heathen in South Africa."

"THE COMPACT of 1900"¹

The Order of Ethiopia (um-Zi wase-Tiyopiya)

(Hitherto called the "Ethiopian Church"—Ibandla lase-Tiyopiya.)

1. Each Diocesan Bishop will appoint Missioners to visit the existing Ethiopian Missions in his Diocese, to instruct, examine, and receive into the Church members thereof.
2. These Missioners shall present to the Diocesan Bishop those whom they deem fit for Confirmation.
3. The Missioners shall recommend such of those who are at present holding office in the Ethiopian Community as they may deem fit to the Diocesan Bishop to be licensed as Readers, Catechists, and Sub-Deacons, in accordance with the Canons of the Province, after consultation with the Provincial of the Order.
4. Each Diocesan Bishop will forthwith make arrangements for the instruction, training, and examination of candidates for Holy Orders in accordance with the regulations of the Diocese and Province and the Canons of the Church.
5. The first members of the Order of Ethiopia shall be those who are licensed under the above provisions.
6. The Visitor of the Order shall be the Metropolitan of the Province.
7. The Provincial of the Order shall be appointed by the Bishops

¹ This is the short title now in common use. In the original document the Bishops describe the rules here given as a "Scheme of an Order to be formed within the Church and to be called the Order of Ethiopia."

of the Province; but after the first appointment due consideration shall be given to the recommendation of the Chapter of the Order.

8. The ordinary term of office of the Provincial shall be five (5) years.

9. The Chapter shall consist of the Provincial and twelve (12) members, six (6) of whom shall be appointed by the Visitor, and six (6) by the Provincial; and it shall be the business of the Chapter to superintend the affairs of the Order, including its finance.

*10. All proceedings of the Chapter shall be subject to review by the Provincial Synod. A Diocesan Bishop may suspend the operation within his Diocese of any new regulation until such review.

*11. The Chapter shall have authority to frame the Constitution of the Order subject to the approval of the Visitor; such Constitution to be provisional until confirmed by the Bishops of the Province at their next Synod.

12. Should a Bishop at any future time be appointed or consecrated for the Order, the office of the Provincial shall be thereupon declared vacant, and he shall be ex-officio Provincial; and he shall exercise Episcopal functions in each Diocese only as an assistant of the Bishop thereof, and at his request.

13. The Provincial shall recommend Clergymen for the charge of vacant Missions of the Order to the Diocesan Bishop, with whom the final appointment shall rest.

14. No Clergyman shall officiate without the licence or permission of the Diocesan Bishop.

15. The Diocesan Bishop at his discretion, either by himself or by the Archdeacon or other Clergyman appointed by the Bishop as his representative to report to him, shall visit the Missions of the Order from time to time to examine candidates for Baptism and Confirmation.

*16. No new Mission work shall be begun [by the Order within ten miles of any Mission Station or Out-Station of the Diocese, nor any new Mission Work of the Diocese within ten miles of any Mission Station or Out-Station of the Order] without the consent of the Diocesan Bishop.

17. With regard to Missions already in existence, the difficulties

* The following alterations have been made in the original document, in virtue of the agreement arrived at between the Provincial Synod of 1909 and the Conference of the Order of Ethiopia which met early in 1910:

(1) § 11 now precedes § 10.

(2) In § 16 the words bracketed are now omitted.

(3) § 21 now runs thus: "Members of the Church passing either from a Mission of the Order to an ordinary Church Mission, or from an ordinary Church Mission to a Mission of the Order, shall be provided with proper letters of recommendation (see Constitution and Canons, p. 97)."

arising from proximity shall be dealt with by the Diocesan Bishop before he issues any new licence.

18. The Bishops of the Province undertake to draw up and submit to the next Provincial Synod a scheme securing representation for the Missions of the Order in both Provincial and Diocesan Synods.

19. All Members of the Order and of its Missions shall be eligible equally with others for Diocesan offices (*e.g.* Chapter, Finance Board, Diocesan Trustees, etc.).

20. Discipline shall be exercised in all Missions as provided for in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Provincial Canons, and the Acts of the Diocese.

*21. Members of the Church passing from one Mission to another, whether of the Order or of the Diocese, shall be provided with proper letters of commendation (see Provincial Canons, p. 97).

22. All property of the Order shall be conveyed to the Provincial Trustees upon such Trusts as are approved by the Visitor after consultation with the Provincial.

23. All Churches shall be open to all people, without distinction of race or colour.

* See footnote on preceding page.

CHAPTER LI

Death of Queen Victoria, 1901—Archbishop's sermon on the Queen's character—The Memorial Service at Capetown—Benediction of the new buildings of the Diocesan College School—The first "Rhodes Scholarship"—The plague appears in Capetown—The Contact Camp—Location at Uitvlugt, or Ndabeni.

THE war in South Africa showed no sign yet of nearing an end, but it had long since become really nothing else than guerilla warfare on a very large scale, when, on January 22, 1901, Queen Victoria died.

Preaching in Capetown Cathedral on the following Sunday, January 27, the Archbishop took his text from Deut. xxxiv. 8, "The children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days," and drew a parallel between that national mourning and this.

The late Queen, he said, throughout her reign, from the very beginning to the very end, had recognized her royal authority as the gift of God, or rather as a trust committed to her by Him, an opportunity of devoting a powerful and wide-reaching influence to the increase of His glory, the amelioration of the world, the purification and elevation of society, and the permanent and truest welfare of her subjects.

Such had been the guiding principle of her life. And the result had been a rare combination of simplicity and dignity. That strange and surprising simplicity, so marvellous in one holding her exalted position, that freedom from affectation, that natural womanliness, shone out specially in her relations with the poorest and humblest of her subjects, and in her tender sympathy by which she appeared to identify herself with her people in their times of national joy or

national distress, and in their days of private sorrow and domestic bereavement. Whatever the occasion—whether the bloodshed of the battlefield, or an accident on a railway or in a colliery, or loss of life by a conflagration or by the collapse of some great building—the very knowledge of any such disaster called forth at once a compassion which had comforted and cheered thousands of bruised and desolate hearts. Yet her sympathy was never exhibited at the expense of the dignity which became her as a Monarch. She combined the two qualities without conscious effort, and as few—perhaps none besides—had ever been able to combine them. For they came as the result of the action of God's grace on a heart and a spirit joyfully and readily yielded to His guidance.

And so she became increasingly, year by year, the Mother of her people. She seemed to live in our hearts as our own mothers do, and our sentiments towards her were as much those of a devoted affection as of a fervent loyalty. Thus, very wonderfully and completely, had the poet's prayer been answered, a prayer uttered in the early freshness of her great bereavement by the death of the Prince Consort :

. . . May all love,
His love, unseen but felt, o'ershadow thee ;
The love of all thy sons encompass thee,
The love of all thy daughters cherish thee,
The love of all thy people comfort thee,
Till God's Love set thee at his side again.

February 2 was the day of the great Queen's funeral, and South Africa joined with the rest of the Empire, and indeed with the whole civilized world, in every mark of respect and genuine sorrow.

At the special Service in Capetown Cathedral, timed to correspond with the actual funeral Service in England, H.E. the Governor of Cape Colony was present, the General in command at the Cape, the Ministers of the Crown, the official heads of different Government departments, the representatives of all local municipal bodies, and a great multitude of other persons. The crowd, indeed, grew so large that a simultaneous Service was held by the Coadjutor Bishop, Dr. Gibson, in the schoolyard of St. George's

Grammar School in the immediate vicinity. In the Cathedral, instead of any sermon, a short interval was set apart for silent prayer, and subjects were suggested for which all present might pray.

"The congregation," wrote the Archbishop afterwards, "was wonderfully reverent and orderly, especially during the silence, which, though the Church was packed tight with people standing in every available space, was profound."

Nine days earlier, that is on January 24, the Archbishop went to Rondebosch for the benediction of the new Diocesan College School buildings, of which the foundation-stone had been laid by the Duchess of Teck in the previous June. On this day he announced, though the name of the donor was still a secret, that he had received on the 23rd a letter promising a gift of £250 per annum for a Scholarship at Oxford, to be competed for at intervals of three years. This was the first of the famous "Rhodes Scholarships," and therefore Mr. Rhodes' letter in regard to it has a considerable interest, and may be given in full.

From the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes to the Archbishop of Capetown.

GROOTE SCHUUR, RONDEBOSCH, CAPETOWN,
January 23, 1901.

MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP—I would like to come to the opening of the new buildings, but I am still not quite myself, and am told by my doctor to keep quiet. I should like you to ask the Governing Body of the Diocesan College School, whose new buildings you are opening on Thursday, whether they are willing to allow their school to be made the subject of an experiment in a gift for competition by the school boys.

I have always felt that the modern idea of giving prizes only for literary attainments is an utter mistake. I will not argue that the Greeks were absolutely right in putting physical attributes first. But I do not think that the winner of a school prize should be solely a bookworm; or, on the other hand, with no thought except for the training of his physical attributes.

With these ideas, I beg to offer, through you, to the Governing Body of the Diocesan College School a yearly sum of £250, to provide for the support of the winner of this scholarship at Oxford for three years. There would be a new contest every fourth year, as

during my lifetime I should yearly send the authorities a cheque for £250.¹ The conditions are as follows :

In the election of a student to a scholarship regard should be had to :

1. His literary and scholastic attainments.
2. His fondness for, and success in, manly outdoor sports, such as cricket, football, and the like.
3. His qualities of manhood, such as truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for and protection of the weak, kindliness, unselfishness, and fellowship.
4. His exhibition, during school days, of moral force of character and of instincts to lead, and take an interest in, his school-mates ; for these latter attributes will be likely in after life to guide him to esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim.

Marks for these four qualifications should be awarded in the following proportions :—Two-fifths for the first, one-fifth for the second, one-fifth for the third, and one-fifth for the fourth, so that if the maximum number of marks were two hundred, they would be apportioned as follows : Eighty to the first and forty to each of the three other qualifications.

The marks for the several qualifications would be awarded independently as follows, that is to say :—The marks for the first qualification, by examination ; for the second and third qualifications respectively, by ballot by the fellow-students of the candidates ; and for the fourth qualification, by the headmaster of the school. And the result of the awards, that is to say, the marks obtained by each candidate for each qualification, should be added together ; and the successful student would be the one who received the greatest number of marks, giving him the highest all-round qualification.

I do not know whether your Governing Body will accept this rather complicated scholarship, but it is an effort to change the dull monotony of modern competition.

There must have been some pleasure in viewing the contests in the gymnasium, say, at Athens. I am sure no one can claim any pleasure from a modern competitive examination. But the more practical point is, Do we under our modern system get the best man for the world's fight ? I think not.—Yours truly,

C. J. RHODES.

The Archbishop, on behalf of the Diocesan College

¹ Mr. Rhodes afterwards provided for an annual instead of triennial election ; so that a new Scholar is now elected annually from the Diocesan College, instead of only one every three years. He also increased the value of each scholarship, which is tenable for three years, to £300 per annum. Under his will the scheme was perpetuated beyond his lifetime ; and it is now extended, as is well known, to other schools and other countries also.

Council, of which he was President, accepted with most cordial thanks this generous offer. He and the Principal of the Diocesan College, the Rev. W. O. Jenkins,¹ had an interview soon afterwards with Mr. Rhodes at his house, and it was then decided, amongst other details, that no boy should be eligible for the Scholarship till he had been three years at the College; that no boy under twelve should be entitled to vote; and that, in assigning marks, the candidate heading the list in any qualification should be credited with the maximum of marks for that particular qualification, the marks of the rest of the candidates being computed in proportion.

Still the War continued. And now, early in 1901, came the plague. On February 20 the Archbishop wrote to Lady Barkly, then in England:

We are yet struggling against the Boers, and seem likely to have to struggle long. To-day we hear that all railway and postal communication is broken beyond Beaufort West, and that little marauding bands are playing havoc around Prince Albert. Meanwhile, we are hoping to hear of some great success near De Aar, and in the East of the Transvaal. We have the plague now establishing itself at Capetown, and the rats threaten to carry it elsewhere, and to sow the germs broadcast. Then the first six weeks of the year have been extraordinarily wet; 10 inches of rain in January! And it still continues to rain every two or three days. It has been pouring to-day. Everything seems out of joint; and the weather is said to be the worst possible for the plague. May God help us!

The bubonic plague, which reached the Cape from India by way of Natal, seemed for some months likely to develop into a serious epidemic. As many as sixteen fresh cases occurred once in a single day, and the little yellow flag, which marked infected houses, became quite a familiar sight. Yet happily the infection never spread with any great and overwhelming rapidity, and though by the end of July the cases had totalled 731 (Europeans 188), and the deaths 353 (Europeans 64, including 2 of the nurses in the Plague Camp), the plague was evidently then on the decrease, doubtless largely owing, under God's Providence, to the prompt measures taken to isolate the sufferers. At Uitvlugt, afterwards called Ndabeni, near Maitland on the Cape Flats, a

¹ Canon, 1905, and Chancellor, 1907, of Capetown Cathedral.

location for natives had been formed, and to it were transferred several thousands of natives, lodging hitherto, but not through their own fault, under terribly insanitary conditions in Capetown. A place was also set apart for isolation and quarantine, a "Contact Camp," as it was called. This, too, was on the Cape Flats, and about three miles from Capetown. In this camp there were four separate divisions. Europeans, coloured people, natives, and Malays (*i.e.* Moslems) had each their own quarter surrounded by high fences of barbed wire. Some idea of this excellently organized camp, and of the characteristics of life within it, may be gathered from an account by the Rev. G. F. Gresley, who, as Chaplain there, himself caught the plague, though in a mild form.

The actual spot, on which the Hospital buildings of the "Contact Camp" stand, was formerly a fir forest in a solitary waste. The only inhabitants were a few hares and wild buck, some turtledoves and singing birds. It was a place almost untrodden by human footsteps. Two months later, and what do we find? In the midst of the lonely wood rises a large canvas Church, provided by Government, and capable of holding over 100 worshippers; its altar, and lamps, and seats given by Government; its harmonium a gift from the Mayor of Capetown; its prayer-books and hymn-books the gift of a sick patient; its alms-box and pulpit made and given by a poor carpenter; its kneeling-mats sent by a city merchant; its sanctuary carpet presented by a doctor; and its altar candlesticks by the wife of an Archbishop—a tabernacle in the wilderness, indeed, but in a wilderness now thickly inhabited, a vast encampment for 1000 persons having sprung up beneath the trees.

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In immediate proximity to this camp, but enclosed in a ten-foot barbed-wire fence, was the great hospital, with all its necessary provision for patients, doctors, nurses, orderlies, servants, and police guards; some four hundred persons in all. We were, indeed, a mixed assemblage, full of variety and contrasts. On the one hand, there was the tragedy of suffering, separation, and sorrow—patients dying or dead, and their loved ones close by, yet unable, owing to the danger of infection, to speak to them or to see them. On the other hand, carelessness and indifference, gaiety, music, songs, and even dancing.

A card of Services was printed for distribution, and placed also on a notice-board at the corner of what became known as "Church Street." Here four ways met, and numbers of persons were constantly passing to and fro for meals, stores, letters. Here, too, the

stump of a stout fir-tree formed a suitable belfry, from which the sound of the bell went out through all the wood, so that none could say they were not invited. It was a constant appeal to all, without respect of persons or regard to colour, and with varied results. For early Communion or Matins, perhaps one or two responded: more often *none*. To daily Evensong many came: at times, very many. For two or three weeks it was a continuous Mission, with the Gospel preached to the poorest of the poor. Now and again a white person would attend. But, even on a Sunday afternoon, when a special Evensong was provided for the European camp, the inhabitants not of the European but of the *coloured* camp would fill the Church.

With regard to the general conduct of the European working men, whether connected with the Hospital or the Contact Camp, my experience was a sad one. Tents have thin walls, and one unavoidably heard much that was not meant for a parson's ears. . . . It is a very serious question, what we can do for such men. How can we reach them, and win more of them to the Church and to God?

If one turns to the European women folk, the outlook is brighter. Of 43 nurses, at least 26 were members of the Church, and their love for their Church was manifested in many ways. Their welcome to a Priest, their Christian ministries to the sick, their reverent care of the graves of two of their number, who died of the plague, their presentations to the Church, their attendance at the Services, and their whole manner of life and conversation, were plain outward proofs of a life influenced by religion. They "showed" in manifold ways "their faith by their works."

The Location, though established at the same time as this "Contact Camp," was not nearly so well planned. The houses were at first of the roughest kind—mere shelters of corrugated iron, with no window which would open, with no chimney or outlet for the escape of the smoke of a fire, and planted on ground very inadequately drained, and soon flooded by the winter rains. The conditions were, however, gradually improved, in great measure because of the protests made to the Government by the Chaplain at the Location, the Rev. Father Bull, S.S.J.E., and by the Archbishop himself. For when the natives, numbering between 6000 and 8000, were moved out of Capetown, it was to the Cowley Fathers, who indeed, had been already at work in the city amongst as many as they could reach, that the Archbishop entrusted the charge of ministering to them in their new quarters. A school-chapel was speedily built, and dedicated as St. Cyprian's, Ndabeni, and this

became the centre of an important Missionary work amongst those natives, who come in large numbers from the native territories eastward of the Kei River to work for a time in the Docks at Capetown, and then return, with their savings, to their own country. The Capetown Diocesan Missionary Board began to contribute an annual sum of £150 (subsequently reduced to £130) to Ndabeni, and the Archbishop, with the assent of the S.P.G., assigned to this particular Mission £1000 from the Society's special grant of £30,000 to South Africa.

CHAPTER LII

The Archbishop in England, 1901 : three months' work for Capetown new Cathedral—Interview with King Edward VII.—Consecration of Dr. Paget, Bishop of Oxford—Return to the Cape—Consecration of Rev. F. S. Baines, as Bishop of Natal—The Royal visit to the Cape—Foundation-stone of new Cathedral laid by H.R.H. Duke of Cornwall and York—Consecration of Rev. J. W. Williams to See of St. John's—Consecration, February 2, 1902, of Rev. A. Chandler to See of Bloemfontein—Sudden death of Dr. Bousfield, Bishop of Pretoria—The Archbishop in the Pretoria Diocese—An interview with a Bond leader in the interests of peace.

AT the end of March, when it was hoped and thought that the end of the War was not far off, the Archbishop sailed for England to organize a Committee for the building of the eastern part of the new Cathedral at Capetown as a Memorial to those who had fallen in the War, and as a Thank-offering for those whose lives had been spared amidst its dangers. The first meeting of the Committee was held at the War Office, and in the absence of Lord Roberts the Archbishop was requested to take the chair. He also had a private interview with King Edward VII., who received him very graciously, displayed a keen interest in the project, and subsequently gave a handsome donation towards it. After speaking at a great number of meetings, preaching in many churches, interviewing a large number of persons, and securing the organization of a Ladies' Committee under H.R.H. the Princess Christian, which has since done splendid work in collecting for the Fund, the Archbishop sailed for the Cape on July 13. He had had an excessively busy three months, spending his whole time on this one matter ; though he was able to be one of the consecrating Bishops, when on St. Peter's Day, June 29, Dr. Francis Paget, Dean of Christ

Church, was consecrated to the See of Oxford ; attended the United Festival of the Ten South African Dioceses on May 23 ; and had some interviews with those who were planning the great "Mission of Help" to South Africa, afterwards carried out so successfully in 1904.

He reached Capetown again on July 30, and on Sunday, August 4, the Rev. F. S. Baines, Bishop-Elect of Natal, was consecrated by him in Capetown Cathedral, with the assistance of the Bishops of Zululand (Carter), Lebombo (Smyth), Mashonaland (Gaul), and the Coadjutor of Capetown (Gibson).

In the month of August 1901 the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, as they were then styled, subsequently the Prince and Princess of Wales, and now Their Majesties the King and Queen, arrived at the Cape in the course of their visit to British possessions beyond the seas. On Monday, August 19, they made their state entrance into Capetown. After receiving a loyal address from the Mayor,

. . . they drove through all the principal streets, and there was great enthusiasm. The decorations were really splendid—arches, banners, etc., and a wonderful display of colour. In the evening the City was magnificently illuminated.

On Tuesday, the Duke and Duchess lunched at Groote Schuur, drove thence to Wynberg, and came back through all the beautiful suburbs between Wynberg and Capetown ; the most loyal demonstrations greeting them everywhere. On Wednesday the Duke was installed as Chancellor of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, and the Archbishop and Mrs. West Jones were amongst those who had the honour of meeting the Duke and Duchess at dinner, after which came the ceremony of the investiture of four knights and many C.M.G.'s.

Thursday, August 22, was the day arranged for the laying of the Buttress Stone of the new Cathedral. Attended by Dr. Gibson, the Coadjutor Bishop, by Dr. Gaul, Bishop of Mashonaland, by Dr. Baines, Bishop of Natal, and by the Clergy of the Diocese of Capetown, and preceded by his Metropolitan Cross, the Archbishop met the Royal party under an arch erected at the end of Government Avenue at the head of Adderley Street at 3.30 P.M. Then

followed the Special Service, during which the Duke laid the stone, reciting with much earnestness the solemn words accompanying the act, and placing afterwards a generous offering on his own behalf upon the stone itself. The Duchess received and laid upon the stone eighty purses of red silk containing money for the Cathedral, and then the additional contributions collected from those present; the whole amounting to about £619. Before his departure, the Duke expressed his great satisfaction at having been able to take part in the ceremony, and requested the Archbishop to inform him, from time to time, of the progress of the work.

The consecration of Dr. Baines to the See of Natal on August 4 was followed on St. Andrew's Day, November 30, by the consecration of the Archbishop's Domestic and Examining Chaplain, the Rev. J. W. Williams, to the See of St. John's, Kaffraria.¹

But one See in the Province still remained vacant, that of Bloemfontein. After the death of Dr. Hicks on October 11, 1899, the very day of the outbreak of the great War, no Elective Assembly of that Diocese could be summoned until July 1901, owing to the unsettled state of the country. When, at length, the Elective Assembly met, it chose two persons, Dr. Gibson, Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, and, failing his acceptance, the Rev. Arthur Chandler, who had been, for the last ten years, Rector of Poplar in the Diocese of London. As Dr. Gibson declined, the Rector of Poplar became Bishop-Elect. But he was unable to leave England till some weeks after Christmas, and accordingly the consecration did not take place till the Feast of the Purification, February 2, 1902.² Then, at last, the number of the Bishops of the Province was once more complete.

But it was complete for only a very short time. Dr. Bousfield, Bishop of Pretoria, though far from well, had come the long distance from the Transvaal to take part in the consecration of the Bishop of Bloemfontein, and, just a week later, on Sunday, February 9, he died very suddenly

¹ The consecrating Bishops were: the Archbishop of Capetown (West Jones), and the Bishops of Pretoria (Bousfield), Coadjutor of Capetown (Gibson), Grahamstown (Cornish), Natal (Baines).

² The consecrating Bishops were those given in the preceding note with the addition of the Bishops of Zululand (Carter) and St. John's (Williams).

at Rondebosch in the house of a friend with whom he was staying.

This unexpected event made it necessary for the Archbishop to go up to Pretoria, where he arrived on February 21, and was warmly welcomed by Lord Kitchener and his Staff. Next day he had an interview about the affairs of the Diocese of Pretoria with the Ven. A. Roberts, Archdeacon of Potchefstroom, and drew up for publication a letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese. Though still unwell from the effects of the heat and of the long railway journey, and in spite of the doctor's dissuasion, he managed to preach on Sunday morning, on Monday to hold an Ordination, and on the following days to transact a great amount of business. On Wednesday he visited Prince Christian Victor's grave, and then left for Johannesburg. He had secured from Government valuable grants of building sites for Churches in Johannesburg. He held a meeting in St. Mary's parish to consider the state of the Diocese generally, and the arrangements to be made for the election of a Bishop; he discussed with Sir Godfrey Lagden, Mr. P. W. Tracey, and Mr. H. Rogers, whom he had nominated to act upon a Committee on this subject, various questions connected with the Mission to Natives on the Rand; he preached in St. Mary's Church on Sunday, March 2, and he left on March 4 for Bloemfontein. Here he was received by the Bishop and by Canon Orford, at whose house he passed the night. Next morning, after Matins and Holy Communion in Bloemfontein Cathedral, and after obtaining the military permit, still required by railway travellers, he went on southwards.

Arriving at De Aar at 3 A.M. on Thursday, the Archbishop there met, by appointment, one of the chief leaders of the Bond, the Dutch Nationalist party in Cape Colony. "At that early hour we had a talk about the political position, and about the danger of the Colony from another invasion; and he promised to confer with Dr. Andrew Murray, and others, as to a fresh manifesto, to urge the Colonial Boers to submit, and the Northern Boers (*i.e.* in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State) not to attempt to invade the Colony again." At Worcester the Archbishop left the train and spent twelve days in visiting the parishes of Worcester and Robertson.

CHAPTER LIII

Death of the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, March 26, 1902—The Archbishop's sermon at the Funeral Service.

THE day after his return home the Archbishop went to Muizenberg, hoping to see Mr. Rhodes, who was very ill, and had gone down to his own small cottage by the seaside, for the sake of the sea air. Unfortunately, Rhodes was not then allowed to see anybody, and on the very day that the Archbishop had arranged to go a second time, March 27, Maundy Thursday, news arrived that Rhodes was dead.

The public funeral of this great man took place on April 3, after the body had lain in state first at Groote Schuur, and then in the Parliament House at Capetown. The Funeral Service itself was very solemn and imposing. A long procession including the Admiral, the General, the Judges, the leaders and chief men of all political parties without distinction, and representatives of various municipal and other bodies, followed the coffin, which was carried through the streets on the gun-carriage of "Long Cecil,"¹ and transferred at the Cathedral gates to a wheeled bier, which conveyed it to its temporary resting-place in the Choir. Here it was laid, covered with a number of wreaths, amongst which was one from Queen Alexandra, between six tall candlesticks, three on each side, in which tapers were burning. After the Service in the Cathedral, the coffin was taken by a special train to Bulawayo, and from thence to the grave, which Rhodes had marked out for himself in the Matopo hills.

¹ A gun constructed by a clever engineer in Kimberley during the siege itself for the defence of the town.

The Archbishop's sermon at the Funeral Service, in Cape-town Cathedral was perfectly candid, and brings out fully the fine elements in the character of Cecil Rhodes, without in any way ignoring his faults or praising him indiscriminately. What he said, indeed, commended itself so universally to men of all shades of opinion within and without the Church, as "expressing exactly what most Christian Englishmen feel about his career,"¹ that it is reproduced here verbatim. Taking his text from 2 Sam. iii. 38, "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" he said :

It was the exclamation of David to his servants on the occasion of the death of Abner at the hand of Joab. It is the exclamation of tens of thousands now in every part of the Empire on the occasion of the death of our great fellow-countryman, the determined champion of the Imperial idea, whose body lies in the midst of us to-day. And we may use these words with perfect truth, whatever may be our convictions as to certain episodes in his life, or certain features in his character, which some might wish had been other than they were.

Humanum est errare. He was not a saint in the accepted meaning of the word, but he never professed to be such. He had his faults, of which he was probably as conscious as any one. But we desire to-day to take as broad a view of his personality as we can at this early date, when the lapse of time has not yet put his career and his character into their proper place in the perspective of history. And what do we find? Can any words more fitly describe what Cecil Rhodes was to this country and to the Empire, of which he was so loyal and devoted a son, than these, "Know ye not that there is a great man fallen this day in Israel?" None can fail to have noticed that some even of his political opponents have come forward openly to bear their testimony to the irreparable loss which our country has sustained through his death.

And now his earthly career is at an end ; his magnificent purpose, indeed, but imperfectly fulfilled. "How little," as he said himself, "done, and how much to do." One is almost tempted to add, "And who is there to do it?" Yes : his life has been taken away, and his body lies still and helpless in our midst.

" . . . Dost thou lie so low ?
Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils,
Shrunk to this little measure ? "

And he himself, his own true self, of which his body here was but the shell and casket, has gone, as the meanest, the poorest, the

¹ *Cape Church Monthly*, May 1902.

simplest, must go, to render his account before the Great, the Almighty Judge. Even now, perhaps, in this solemn hour the record of his life in all its mingled texture of good and evil, is being unrolled before Him. O Lord Jesu, have mercy ! By Thy Precious Blood-shedding ; by Thine Easter Victory, in which death is swallowed up : Jesu, mercy !

But, my brethren, it is for us, who survive, to gather up the fragments of his life and character, and to ask of ourselves, what they have to teach us.

And first, there was that wonderful breadth of view by which he seemed to be able to take within the compass of his mind wide expanses of statesmanship, so as to become the great Empire-builder of the age. There was nothing small or mean about him. Everything, every project, every enterprise, was on a large scale. In his enthusiastic nature, he was blinder, perhaps, than most men to the difficulties which must beset the gigantic schemes he was contemplating. But the strong determination, which was another striking feature in his character, and which never allowed him to be daunted, bore him through them, and illustrated that advice, which he is said to have frequently given : "Have before you one great idea, one great object, which is to be accomplished ; and then follow it up without interruption, and never give in, till you have achieved it. Do not yield to disappointment. You will win in the end, though you may have to wait long for it." I well remember a conversation I had with him many years ago, at which the late Sir Sidney Shippard was also present, and in which he said to me : "I have been a fortunate man. All rich men have their hobbies. Some collect butterflies or china, and others pictures, and others purchase landed estates or stately mansions, and live there like princes. It has always seemed to me a nobler aim to open out Southern Central Africa to British energy and enterprise, and to find a new home for British colonization." This was long before the Chartered Company was formed. It was a remarkable utterance in those days : to us now it is trite and commonplace enough. But why ? Simply because, what then seemed to many a dream, has now become, through his restless energy, an accomplished fact. This, certainly, we may learn from his public career, to have large, unselfish, patriotic views before us, and not to rest till they be realized. For this example will Cecil Rhodes ever merit the gratitude of the Empire.

And then, too, there was another feature in his life. His spirit was essentially generous and unselfish, even to his adversaries. I have often heard him speak in the warmest, and even affectionate, terms of one who was amongst his most vehement political opponents. Generous he was to the poor and suffering ; open-hearted, even perhaps, to a fault. I know that his benefactions to the sufferers from the war in Mashonaland were on an incredibly large and

magnificent scale, but for the most part in perfect secrecy. His whole view of wealth, and of its uses, was entirely unselfish. He said to me more than once, "I have often told my rich friends that they cannot take their riches away with them when they die, and that they would, therefore, do wisely to make a good use of them while they live." "A good use," and what was his notion of this? With him wealth was never in itself an ultimate object. It was only valuable because it enabled its owner to contribute to the "betterment of humanity," as he called it, to the increase of the sum of human happiness, and, as in his judgement a considerable step towards this, to the expansion and consolidation of the British Empire, to the provision of new markets for British merchandise, and a new country for British colonists. To him the increase of earthly substance was never anything else than an appeal to greater efforts of generous patriotism and of large-hearted public spirit.

But men will ask, "What about his religion? Why did he pay no attention to its outward observances? What have you to say to his habitual neglect of public worship? How are you going to defend this?" I do not pretend to defend it. I only say, I am not going to judge him: "to his own Master he standeth or falleth. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? . . . We shall all stand before the Judgement-seat of Christ." For his own sake, indeed, and for the sake of others, I could fain wish he had done otherwise. This, however, is certain, that it was no absence of religious conviction which kept him away. His whole life belies that idea. For many years he purposed to take Holy Orders; and though circumstances combined to change his purpose, he never parted with his interest in religion, or his sense of its necessity for the welfare of a nation. When some young men in his hearing were scoffing at religious things, he promptly rebuked them, and peremptorily commanded silence. At Bulawayo he insisted on religious instruction as the only true basis of a liberal education. "There is," he said, "a better thing for South Africa than materialism, and that is religion." And while discussing in my presence his munificent scheme for a scholarship at the Diocesan College, he laid down the principle distinctly, that the most important of all educational features is the formation of character. "And, of course," he added simply, "the only true ideal of character is our Saviour."

In a very serious private conversation with him just before his last illness, when he knew what he must expect, a conversation too sacred to be described here,¹ I was very deeply impressed with his grave sense of the nearness of death, and of his duty to make ready

¹ The allusion is to a private interview in Capetown, apparently in the early weeks of 1902. The Archbishop felt it his duty to speak quite directly and plainly to Mr. Rhodes, who paced once or twice up and down the room, and then said emphatically, "Thank you," and shook hands. And so they parted, never, as it proved, to meet again in this world.

for it. Even in a thing so vitally connected with religion as the wise use of life, and of life's opportunities, in preparation for eternity, many of us, if we had only known his inner self better, might possibly have learnt from him a salutary lesson.

Need I say more? Perhaps some may think I have already said too much. But I have simply said what I know, and what I feel ought to be said. "Every day," says a living writer, "there pass away from amongst us men whose career has not been absolutely satisfactory, but whose lives are marked by many virtues. We cannot tell what is happening in such souls in the moment of death. It is enough to know that they are in the Hands of a faithful Creator and a wise and merciful Father." In His Hands we leave the spirit of Cecil Rhodes to-day; and as we take our last farewell of his mortal frame, we say in the words of prayer and of Christian hope, as we think of his spirit in the hidden world beyond the veil:

There the tears of earth are dried;
 There its hidden things are clear;
 There the work of life is tried
 By a juster Judge than here.

Father, in Thy gracious keeping
 Leave we now Thy servant sleeping.

CHAPTER LIV

The War and its effect on Capetown and the Capetown Diocese—The Archbishop's efforts for peace—A strange misrepresentation—Siege of O'okiep, 1902—Marvellous preservation of the town—Declaration of Peace—Lord Kitchener's telegrams—The Archbishop at Pretoria for the Peace Thanksgiving Service—The resumed visitation in Victoria West and Carnarvon districts.

MORE than two years had now gone by since the beginning of the War in October 1899, and, as the months rolled on, the Diocese of Capetown felt the stress of it in an ever-increasing degree. Capetown itself had been from the first the great base of operations, where troops and supplies were landed. Table Bay at one time was a strange forest of red and black funnels, rising from a fleet of 130 to 140 transport steamers lying at anchor. In the suburbs of Capetown hospital camps were soon formed, and Red Cross trains full of wounded were constantly coming down from up-country. On Green Point Common, just outside Capetown on one side, and at Simonstown, some eighteen miles to the south on another, Boer prisoners were confined in camps enclosed with barbed wire, and lit after nightfall by electric light. Along the four sides sentries paced to and fro on lofty platform walks day and night; and grim-looking machine guns planted at the four corners commanded the whole area within.¹

¹ Amongst the first prisoners of war brought down to the Boer prisoners' camp at Simonstown were a dozen or more English Churchmen, chiefly from the Orange Free State, and probably men who in years past had taken the burgher's oath to defend their adopted country, little thinking that this would ever involve them in fighting against British forces. The Rector of Simonstown, the Rev. J. Philip Legg, visited them, and wrote afterwards:

"As some were anxious to make their Communion, I went one Sunday morning about 8 A.M., and celebrated in a tent with the most simple surroundings. I may say I never celebrated with more emotion. All present seemed so earnest, and so obviously devout. After the Service was over, one or two came to thank me; and a young fellow of about eighteen, when we were alone, told me his story, and put his head on my shoulder, and wept

But each such stern memento of a great war might have appealed very little to the residents in the land. Other things brought the dread reality of war more directly home to them. Numbers of persons in Capetown, and throughout the country, had relatives and friends in the regular troops at the front. Thousands of Colonists, besides, were themselves serving in the Colonial Volunteers. A great many more thousands, of all ages from eighteen to sixty or seventy, were enrolled in the "Town Guards," which were formed for defensive purposes in every town and village of any size throughout the Colony, not excepting even Capetown and its suburbs. The Cape Peninsula itself was strongly fortified against any sudden surprise by a continuous chain of block-houses with wire entanglements, and its population was enlarged by the crowds of refugees from the north, ever hoping, and hoping so long in vain, to return to their own homes and their former employment.

For strategic reasons, whilst the war was being vigorously prosecuted elsewhere, Cape Colony, as a whole, and not least Capetown Diocese, its western half, for more than a year, was left almost undefended save by its own "Town Guards." The smaller Boer commandos roved about, only controlled to some extent by such troops as could be spared from guarding the lines of communication, and from the larger operations in the north. In the south-east of the Diocese a commando penetrated as far as Mossel Bay, and the sound of the firing during an engagement was distinctly audible from the town itself. At Heidelberg, a mere handful of 25 men gallantly held the place for some time, till a commando of 140 forced their way in, and the Priest-in-charge only saved his pony from being commandeered by hiding him in a cellar! Commandos, indeed, were once so near to Capetown itself that a man rode into the city to report the burning of the homestead on his farm, and though it proved that he had been mistaken about the destruction of the house, it was true enough that the Boers had come and had com-

silently. I confess I felt inclined to weep too. After this I did not see much of them, for they were soon drafted off either to Ceylon or, as I rather think, to St. Helena."

The Archbishop when he heard from Mr. Legg about this Service wrote at once: "I was so immensely pleased to read your letter. What a comfort your visit and that Eucharist proved to those poor fellows, and how they will look forward to another visit from you!"

mandeered his best horses, leaving their own worn-out animals instead. General Smuts, afterwards amongst the ablest and the most respected of the Ministry under the first Union Government, reported to the authorities under whom he was then serving, that he had personally carried on operations of war in no less than twenty-eight districts of Cape Colony, and by his lieutenants in an additional seven; and subsequently, as a Minister of the Crown, he has sometimes playfully alluded to that intimate knowledge of the country which he acquired at this time and in this way.

The Archbishop at the beginning of 1902 wrote :

Capetown Diocese during 1901 has been much more exposed to the depredations of commandos than ever before. Small bands have been committing great havoc westward in the districts of Clanwilliam, Calvinia, Piquetberg, Malmesbury; eastward in those of George, Oudtshoorn, Uniondale, Ladismith, Willowmore, Riversdale, Mossel Bay, and Swellendam. Thus the greater part of the Diocese has been from time to time in a condition of unrest and anxiety. Several of our young men have been killed¹ or wounded, and the farms of loyalists have been overrun, buildings ruined, and stock driven off. Under these conditions the Church's work could not be expected to make much progress. It has been, indeed, very difficult to keep our heads above water, and to continue the Church's ministrations at all in some parishes. The Clergy have been prevented from moving about freely amongst their missions, partly because of the neighbourhood of the enemy, and still more because our own military authorities have laid all kinds of restrictions² on the public, and permits have not been always easy to obtain.

Earlier in the war the Archbishop records a wonderful instance of loyalty and self-denial on the part of the coloured people, in the fishing villages on the coast of Malmesbury parish, the more remarkable because they themselves were far removed from the scene of the conflict.

A very small Mission station on Saldanha Bay—counting men, women, and children, probably not more than 150 souls altogether, and all poor fisher folk—has sent a sum of £27, contributed by fifty-eight persons, for the relief of the wounded. Their action has been

¹ Amongst those who were killed in the war were F. H. Newdigate and A. H. Duthie, each belonging to a well-known family, and each formerly Churchwarden of Knysna.

² It had been found necessary gradually to place district after district under martial law, till, last of all, even the Cape Peninsula and Capetown itself were included. But the regulations up-country were both more numerous and more severe than in and near Capetown.

emulated by the people of the neighbouring mission stations, and a total sum of over £80 has been sent by this group of fishing hamlets. They expressly desire that their loyalty to the Queen should be made known, and that their contributions should be taken as a proof. It is simply amazing to me that they should have found it possible to give so large an amount.

The Archbishop's own feelings in regard to the war have been shown by the Pastoral Letter which he issued when it first broke out, and by his exertions for peace in May 1899, before the commencement of hostilities, and again in February 1902, when there seemed to be a chance for successful mediation. One of the Cape newspapers did indeed try in 1900 to represent him as of a very different mind. It quoted, under a flaring headline "W. W. Capetown wants more bloodshed," a calm and temperate letter of his, which contained nothing whatever of incitement to slaughter, and it followed this up a few days later by a leading article, entitled "Kill! Kill! Kill!" which said:

We have seen the Anglican Primate of the Cape in his sacerdotal robes, with his mitre upon his head and his crozier in his hand, leap into the bloody arena of war-politics, and there lay about him like a gladiator. No words of peace from him. Kill! Kill! Kill! is his cry.

And so on, with much more to the same effect.

But the whole thing was too transparently absurd, and no one took these fiery sentences seriously, probably not even the man who wrote them. They were but a piece of political journalism, and afforded the Archbishop himself a considerable amount of amusement. He was travelling on the Capetown suburban railway on the day on which this truculent article appeared, and immediately bought a copy of the paper. Then, as he scanned it, he was so tickled by its utter incongruity, that he proceeded to read the article aloud to a friend, declaiming it, as he went on, with much emphasis, to the extreme amazement and perplexity of an old lady travelling in the same compartment, whose complete mystification he thoroughly enjoyed! What other persons thought may be gathered from an incident in a law court in Capetown some while afterwards. Another newspaper article, which had no reference whatever to the Archbishop, had come

before the Court, and a certain K.C. who was pleading, when questioned by the Judge as to the authorship, replied : " I do not know ; but it is said to be by the same hand which wrote, ' W. W. Capetown wants more bloodshed ' "—an answer which raised a general laugh in Court.

Quite at the end of the war the little town of O'okiep in Namaqualand, in the far north of the Capetown Diocese, had to stand a long and severe siege, and was very nearly captured. The defenders numbered less than 1000 men, only 60 or 70 being military, *i.e.* certain officers, and " details " of the Warwickshire Regiment, Queen's Militia, and Cape Garrison Artillery. The rest were Town Guards, Volunteers, and other civilians. The attacking force included a General, two Commandants, from 1100 to 1500 veterans, and some 300 others. The population of O'okiep, with women and children, was about 5000 souls.

The first attack was delivered on the night of April 9, 1902, when one blockhouse was taken, and another destroyed by dynamite bombs. After an interval, a second desperate assault was made about 9 P.M. on Saturday April 12, and at midnight the north-east blockhouse in the line of its defences was taken. The main attack, however, was repulsed about 2 A.M. in the morning of April 13, after four fierce attempts on the central fort, or key of the position. After this there were no more night attacks ; and on April 30 the besieging force sent an envoy under a white flag with a challenge to a game of football ! The invitation, under the circumstances, was naturally declined with thanks.

But the white flag reappeared about sunset. This time it was on a trolley, which came along the railway, and brought in a native runner, wounded and captured a fortnight before. Events proved that this latter incident, at least, was a mere ruse to discover whether the railway line was clear or not. For next day, at dawn, an oil-locomotive and a truck laden with eighty cases of dynamite, each case holding 50 lbs.—4000 lbs. of dynamite in all—were started at full speed into the town, the truck foremost, and in it a fuse attached and lit. There was nothing whatever in the way, and the destruction of the town must have seemed to the besiegers a certainty. But, most happily, when the truck

reached the outer circle of the defences, the front wheel on the right side broke, and its hub, running within the metals on the ballast, caught the rail of the "triangle" siding, diverting both engine and truck along that. Eventually the truck was derailed, and the front wheels of the engine also, and both came to a standstill. Then, most wonderful of all, the dynamite burnt out harmlessly without explosion, making a grand display of light. The Boer force of 1100 men, waiting to rush in after the expected explosion, then drew off without firing a shot. The single cannon possessed by the besieged was skilfully trained upon the different positions of the enemy, and fired away for two hours after dark in the evening, and another night attack was thus prevented. On Tuesday, May 3, the besiegers drew off on the approach of the relieving column, and on the following day, in the open air, a Thanksgiving Service was held for the preservation of the town. There had been, indeed, what the Rector of Namaqualand justly characterized as "a most signal intervention of Providence." For if the left front wheel had broken instead of the right; on the left side the main rail was flush with the rail of the triangle siding, so nothing would have caught the hub of the broken wheel; and therefore the truck would probably have kept upon the metals. Then at the end of the railway a concussion would have ensued, which would have exploded the dynamite, and of that there was enough to have destroyed the whole town.¹

And now, at the very end of May, came the long deferred and earnestly desired peace. As tidings spread through South Africa that, on Saturday night, May 31, terms of peace had been signed at last, the news brought with it one sudden, universal, and overwhelming feeling—intense relief. The thing seemed almost too good to be true; and many were astonished to find themselves, not jubilant with joy, but awed into that strange hush of silent surprise which marks the unexpected passing away of some tremendous crisis. At such a time hearts are too full for words, and the

¹ The facts are taken from an interesting account written by one of the besieged, the Rev. W. P. G. Schierhout, Rector of Namaqualand, of which O'okiep is the capital, in the *Report and Accounts of the Association in Aid of the Diocese of Capetown* for 1902.

current of thankfulness runs too deep for any outward and merely superficial demonstrations of joy.

Several months earlier the Archbishop, in conjunction with the other Bishops of the Province, had drawn up, so as to be ready for immediate use in all churches in the different Dioceses of South Africa, a special form of Thanksgiving Service for the restoration of peace. This was now put forth, and was used everywhere, on one or other of the two next Sundays, with a fervour and a reality only possible in a country in which the sufferings accompanying war had been so prolonged, so manifold, so widespread.

The Archbishop himself was away on visitation. The glad news reached him at Prince Albert on Monday, June 2. Immediately after came a telegram from the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, Lord Kitchener, claiming the fulfilment of his promise made at Pretoria in the preceding February, that whenever peace might be concluded, he would come up for a great Thanksgiving Service. He now, however, reluctantly but firmly declined the Commander-in-Chief's invitation, saying that he could not leave his visitation work. Another urgent telegram followed, to which also he sent a negative answer. The third telegram was delivered to him at Prince Albert Road Station, just at the moment when, himself arriving by cart from Prince Albert, he met his Chaplain going up thither to take charge of the parish for a month. On reading the telegram, he was so evidently distressed and disappointed at being obliged to refuse, that his Chaplain ventured to ask whether, after all, he could not rearrange his plans, so as to accept. "No ; quite impossible," was the decisive reply ; and no more was then said. But next day, after three more telegrams had come to him at Beaufort West, making six in all, and after he had declined five times, he yielded at the sixth and went, leaving Beaufort West by the Friday afternoon train for Pretoria. "Happily," he wrote in his diary, "there was no Confirmation at Beaufort West, or I should not have gone." Beaufort West is 376 miles from Capetown and Pretoria is 1040, so that the distance was nearly 700 miles, and at the slow pace at which trains usually run on South African railways, it could not have been accomplished in the time. But Lord Kitchener

had arranged to facilitate the journey in every possible way ; and on Saturday, June 7, the carriage in which the Archbishop and other passengers were travelling was detached from the train, and taken up very fast by a special engine to Bloemfontein. Here Lord Kitchener had given orders for lunch to be ready, and a special train to take him on through Kroonstad northwards. He thus arrived at Pretoria at 2.15 A.M. on Sunday morning, June 8, the very day of the Thanksgiving Service. Two of Lord Kitchener's Staff met him at the station with a carriage, and between that time and 7 A.M. he obtained such sleep as he could. He was up at 7 o'clock, found Lord Kitchener and Captain Maxwell waiting for him downstairs, and went with them to Pretoria Cathedral for the early Celebration at 8 A.M. His own account of the Peace Thanksgiving Service is as follows :

After breakfast I drove with Lord Kitchener and General Sir Ian Hamilton to the Government Buildings, and through these to the platform in front, overlooking the Great Square, in which some 6000 troops were massed, who represented many scores of battalions and columns, and round about whom was a crowd of from 8000 to 10,000 persons, entirely occupying the enormous space. Lord Kitchener began the ceremony by distributing V.C.'s and other decorations. Then he and his Staff went down, and stood at the head of the troops. Their places on the platform were filled by Clergy of the Diocese ; Ministers of different religious bodies ; Dr. Carter, Bishop of Zululand, with his Chaplain, the Rev. C. F. Tobias ; Dr. Gibson, Bishop Coadjutor of Capetown, with his Chaplain, the Rev. A. R. Hoare ; and myself, with the Rev. A. W. B. Watson, Principal Church of England Chaplain of the Forces in South Africa, who acted as my Chaplain. Below the platform were the Choirs, all grouped together. Then the Service began. It consisted of several hymns, two Collects said by the Bishop of Zululand, the *Te Deum*, a short address by me, the Benediction, and the National Anthem. Most striking of all was Rudyard Kipling's "Recessional," sung to the beautiful tune *Melita*. Its pathetic refrain—

Lord God of hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget—

produced just that impression which such an occasion demanded. Then cheers were given for the King, we drove back, and the crowd dispersed. A really glorious Service ! I hope it may have left behind it many a permanent lesson in many a heart. Thank God for the peace which the Service proclaimed as God's Gift to South Africa !

The newspapers said that the Archbishop's clear and ringing voice was heard right across the vast Square, and that his address was worthy of the great occasion.

In the evening of this Sunday he went to Pretoria Cathedral, where "the Bishop of Zululand preached a most striking sermon on Rev. xxi. 16—'The City lieth four-square.'" On Monday he left by the 7.35 A.M. train for the south, Lord Kitchener sending him in his private railway carriage with a soldier servant to Victoria West, where he was to resume his interrupted visitation. On this journey he says :

I had a very pleasant and most interesting companion, the Rev. E. P. Lowry, Senior Wesleyan Military Chaplain, who had gone through the whole campaign for two years and eight months, having been at Modder River, Magersfontein, Paardeberg, and at the entrances into Bloemfontein and into Pretoria, and having marched with the Guards all the way to Komatie Poort, and to Lydenburg, Barberton, Pietersburg, and nearly everywhere. We said Matins together both mornings.

"Nothing could have exceeded the friendliness of Lord Kitchener and his Staff," was the Archbishop's comment after this flying visit to Pretoria. Yet the strain of more than 650 miles' journey each way, with less than thirty hours at Pretoria, was bound to tell on a man of sixty-four, whose health was already far from robust. Moreover, when he arrived at noon on Tuesday, June 10, at Victoria Road, the drive thence to Victoria West itself was "through bitter cold, a storm of dust, and hurricanes of wind," and similar weather prevailed during the rest of the time that he was in this bleak part of the country. On June 12 he left Victoria West about 9 A.M., and reached Pampoen Poort about 5.30 P.M., after two outspans, at both of which he received much kindness from officers of the Northamptonshire Regiment, which was guarding the road in blockhouses and camps. But the travelling was severe and trying in the extreme. A cold wind was blowing, driving clouds of powdery dust raised by numbers of passing convoys; and dead and dying donkeys and oxen everywhere marked the line of the road. Another long day's windy and dusty travelling brought him to Carnarvon on Friday evening. Here he

managed to confirm twelve persons on Saturday, but only with great difficulty, and all he could accomplish on Sunday was to preach once at 11 A.M. On Tuesday and Wednesday he travelled the long weary way back again to Victoria West; but on his arrival he was so absolutely unfit for further work that he determined to return home as soon as the Confirmation on Thursday evening was over, and he reached Bishopscourt again at mid-day on Saturday, June 21.

CHAPTER LV

King Edward's illness and deferred Coronation, 1902—A terrific storm, and a rainy, tempestuous season—Correspondence with the Patriarch of Constantinople—Provincial Theological College opened—Election of Dr. Carter, Bishop of Zululand, to See of Pretoria—The Archbishop in England—Death of Dr. Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury—Visit to Salisbury and Truro, 1903—Consecration of St. Stephen's, Portsea—Six weeks in south of France—Visit to All Saints' Convent, St. Albans—Sermon in St. Oswald's, Bradford, and meetings at Abingdon and Reading for Capetown New Cathedral—A serious operation—Two S.P.G. meetings—Speech of the Bishop of St. Andrews on the South African Church.

JUNE 25, 1902, was to have been the Coronation Day of King Edward VII., but the special Services arranged at Capetown were there, as elsewhere, turned into Services of Intercession upon the arrival, on June 24, of the news of the King's serious illness. The Archbishop took part in the Intercession Service in Capetown Cathedral, and he was the preacher at the Service on that happy day, August 9, when the postponed Coronation actually took place, amidst the rejoicings of the whole Empire.

The night of August 14 was fearfully stormy along the South African coast. The barometer sank extremely low, and the wind roared and howled round Table Mountain like a wild beast. Even in Table Bay, which was partly sheltered by the mountain, two vessels, a steamer and a barque, were driven ashore, and twenty-three lives were lost by a collision which caused the sinking of another vessel—a disaster the more pathetic, because the sunken ship had only lately weathered another storm far out at sea, and had just reached harbour, crippled, but in apparent safety. Further eastward, especially at Port Elizabeth, the destruction amongst the shipping that night was terrible.

The whole season, indeed, was unusually wet and tempestuous. The winter rains began very late this year, and not till May 17. But, before the end of the month, 13 inches of rain had fallen at Bishops court; before August 16, no less than $47\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and before the end of September this amount had been increased to more than 60 inches—upwards of 5 feet of rain in less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ months!

During the war a large number of Greeks had come to settle in Capetown, and, with the Archbishop's authorization, their Archimandrite had received permission to use the old Church, or School-Chapel, of St. Philip, until such time as they might be able to build a church of their own. In reference to these circumstances there ensued between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Archbishop of Capetown the following correspondence, to which an additional interest now attaches, since the death of the venerable and saintly Patriarch, ten years later, during the crisis of the great war in Eastern Europe in the last months of the year 1912.

From the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Archbishop of Capetown.¹

Most Reverend Archbishop of the Anglican Church in South Africa in Christ our God, our Much-beloved Lord William, Grace and Peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

From letters of the Orthodox Greek Community in Capetown we have had the very joyful and grateful information that your Christ-loving Reverence, showing Fatherly love in Christ towards those of our Orthodox Eastern Church of Christ who sojourn there, has been pleased to give other proofs of your valued sympathy, and in particular has gladly and very graciously placed at their disposal, until they obtain a temple of their own, the former Anglican Church, named after Saint Philip, in order that they may celebrate therein their Sacred Services, causing ineffable consolation and joy to them by the favour both in word and deed which Your Reverence has bestowed so freely upon them. On receipt of these messages, therefore, we also have felt much joy; and recognizing the kindness of Your Reverence, we gladly come forward, by a Resolution

¹ This letter is headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople's seal and the elaborate Byzantine polygramme, which reads: "Joachim, by the Mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Oecumenical Patriarch." The text of the letter, like the polygramme, is written in Greek.

of the Holy and Sacred Synod around us, to make manifest and confirm by this our letter the great gratitude which we have had and have to Your Reverence for these things, and, moreover, for the sympathy in general of Your Reverence and of the Venerable Clergy under you towards our Orthodox Eastern Church of Christ ; rendering thanks to the Lord, that He thus promotes and strengthens everywhere by such tangible and favourable tokens that bond of love and fraternal amity which began auspiciously some years ago between us and you—a bond which is to His Holy Church an earnest of still better things.

Asking your Much-respected Reverence, for the future also, not to deem unworthy of your high favour and protection the newly-established Orthodox Community, who will always hold in grateful remembrance the ready support which your Christ-loving Reverence freely bestowed upon them in the first and difficult stages of their establishment ; and likewise informing Your Reverence, in brotherly manner, that, together with other necessary Ecclesiastical Books, Sacred Vestments, and Vessels, we have sent to the newly-founded Community the indispensable Holy Altar Cloth, upon which alone, according to the Rites of our Church, it is permissible to celebrate the Holy Liturgy in any place of Worship not consecrated according to the Rites of the Orthodox Church ; we embrace Your Reverence in Christ, and remain,

CONSTANTINOPLE

in Christ, fervent in prayers.

February 19, 1902.

The Archbishop of Capetown replied thus :

From the Archbishop of Capetown to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

BISHOPSCOURT, CLAREMONT, CAPE COLONY,

May 27, 1902.

To our Well-beloved Joachim, the Most Holy Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Oecumenical Patriarch, we, William, by Divine Providence, Archbishop of Capetown, and Metropolitan of the English Church in South Africa, send our greeting in the Lord.

We have felt much honoured by the very courteous and kindly letter which we have received from Your Holiness, thanking us for such small assistance as we have been able to afford to the sons of the Orthodox Eastern Church of Christ sojourning in these parts. We indeed, for ourselves, are most thankful to Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He has granted us this opportunity of showing our goodwill towards the Church with which the Church of England scattered throughout the world desires to live in the bonds of fraternal unity.

We assure Your Holiness that we shall all rejoice to promote in every way the prosperity and peaceful advancement of the congregation of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ in Capetown. It is an especial gladness to us that they have now a reverend and devout Priest, authorized by Your Holiness, and also possess all the Ecclesiastical Books and Sacred Vestments and Vessels necessary for the Holy Liturgy, and for all other Sacred Rites of the Holy Orthodox Church.

Praying that God may grant Your Holiness many years of health and peace, and may pour His Blessing abundantly on you and upon the people of God committed to your care, and may unite in His own good time the Orthodox Church of the East, and the English Church, in perfect Communion and in one Faith and Love. —We remain, Your Holiness' most faithful servant and brother in Christ,

W. W. CAPETOWN.

In the last quarter of this year a scheme for many years of deep interest to the Archbishop, and one to which he had himself generously contributed, began at last to take visible shape. In accordance with a Resolution of the Provincial Synod of 1891, St. Paul's Hostel, Grahamstown, was opened on October 1 as a Provincial Theological College for the training of candidates for Holy Orders. The Rev. John Espin, D.D., Canon and Chancellor of Grahamstown Cathedral, was the first Warden ; and, when he died three years later, on October 24, 1905, already seven students of the College had been ordained, and two others were in residence. Under his successor, the Rev. E. C. West, M.A., formerly Chaplain of Cuddesdon Theological College, and now Canon and Chancellor of Grahamstown Cathedral, the Hostel itself has been greatly enlarged, and more than thirty other students, and a good proportion of them Colonial-born, have been trained for their subsequent work in the Sacred Ministry in the various Dioceses of the Province.

When the See of Pretoria fell vacant in February 1902, the Archbishop appointed, as Vicar-General, for one part of the time of the vacancy, the Ven. Alfred Roberts, Archdeacon of Potchefstroom ; for another part, the Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, Dr. Gibson ; and for a third period, the then Bishop of Zululand, Dr. Carter. It was his earnest hope that the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Pretoria would thus become acquainted with the Bishop of Zululand,

and that the Elective Assembly of the Diocese might, in due course, choose him as their Bishop. His hope was fulfilled by the unanimous election of the Bishop of Zululand ; and so one of his last acts, before sailing for England on October 1, was to preside on Michaelmas Day in the Court of Confirmation at Capetown, when this election was submitted to the Bishops of the Province, or their representatives, in conformity with the Canons of the Province, and duly confirmed.

On December 22, two months after his arrival in England, he went to inquire at Lambeth Palace, where Dr. Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had just passed his eightieth birthday, lay seriously ill, and "saw the old Archbishop quietly sleeping." He was, indeed, one of the last, except Dr. Temple's own family, to see him still living ; for next day about 8 A.M. he had departed peacefully to his rest.

Early in January 1903 the Archbishop visited Salisbury, where Dr. Webb, formerly Bishop of Grahams-town, was now Dean, and thence made an excursion to George Herbert's house and Church at Bemerton. From Salisbury he went on to Cornwall to see Truro Cathedral and to visit his former Chaplain, the Rev. D. E. Young. On the 27th of the same month, acting under a commission from Dr. Davidson, Bishop of Winchester and Archbishop-Designate of Canterbury, he consecrated at Portsea the new Church of St. Stephen, of which his nephew, the Rev. Guy Landon, was Priest-in-charge. About the middle of February he went with Mrs. West Jones to the south of France, remaining away from England till nearly the end of March, and spending most of the time at Hyères, where he had the pleasure of the companionship of his friends, Dr. R. C. and Mrs. Moberly. He had been very far from well before he left the Cape, and during much of his time in France he suffered a good deal from an old trouble, neuritis in the right arm.

After his return to England he visited the Mother House of the All Saints' Sisterhood at St. Albans, where the Sister who received him, and, in the absence of the Mother, showed him the beautiful new buildings, was the daughter of a

Priest in his own Diocese of Capetown, subsequently herself the Reverend Mother and head of the whole Community. In June he preached for the Capetown New Cathedral in St. Oswald's, Bradford, a splendid new church built in a poor part of the town by his brother, Mr. F. M. T. Jones-Balme, to whom Mr. Wheatley Balme, a generous layman, and in his lifetime a great benefactor of the Church in South Africa, had left his property, and who took this mode of raising a memorial to Mr. Wheatley Balme. On June 30 and July 1 the Archbishop addressed two garden meetings on behalf of the Capetown New Cathedral, one at Abbey House, Abingdon, the residence of his old and tried friend Dr. Randall, Bishop of Reading, and another in the town of Reading. After the latter he went with Mrs. West Jones to Rotherfield Greys Rectory, his Chaplain's home in England, and spent there a quiet two days.

Not much more than a month later his doctor advised him to see a surgeon in reference to a growth on his upper jaw. The surgeon at once pronounced this a serious matter, admitting of no delay, and decided that the removal of a part of the jaw itself would be necessary. "A sad prospect," wrote the Archbishop in his diary. "But I must leave the issue to God, and trust that the surgeon's skill may arrest the mischief. But shall I ever be of much use again?"

The operation was fixed for August 18; and whilst it was still impending, he preached for Capetown New Cathedral on August 16, and wrote a large number of letters. In writing to his Chaplain, he spoke of the dread and shrinking he felt in view of the operation—a natural experience in the case of so sensitive a nature as his. In reply, his Chaplain told him that lately several different persons in South Africa had informed him that no day passed without their remembering their Archbishop in their prayers. The knowledge that he was thus daily remembered before God by many in his own Diocese specially cheered and consoled him at this very trying time; and so did a particularly sympathetic and brotherly letter from Dr. Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The operation took place under chloroform, and was over in about an hour. The Archbishop's recovery was rapid,

more rapid than perhaps he himself fully realized, and considering his age, the state of his health, and the serious nature of the operation itself, was quite astonishing. He was able to leave London on August 29, and went to Springfield, where he returned thanks during the Church Service on Sunday the 30th, and where he remained about a month. Another month at Aldborough in Suffolk fairly completed his convalescence. At the end of November he attended two great S.P.G. meetings. The first was at Portsmouth, where he was himself one of the speakers ; the second, at which he did not speak, in Exeter Hall, London, under the auspices of the Junior Clergy Missionary Association. At the latter meeting Dr. G. H. Wilkinson, Bishop of St. Andrews, who had but recently returned from South Africa, from a tour of preparation for the Mission of Help, alluded to the Archbishop's presence, and to the spirit of friendliness and mutual love which he had found prevailing in the Church throughout the Province of South Africa, using the following glowing words :

I cannot say in this room, in the presence of the Archbishop of Capetown, what all whom you would meet in South Africa would tell you of their love and their respect for him. Nor is it seemly to spend time in speaking to you of the rest of those noble Bishops, who need not be ashamed of taking their stand by the side of any Bishops in Christendom for devotion to God and surrender to His Will.

Of all the cruel and unjust things that have ever been done under the guidance—I say it deliberately—done under the guidance, unknown indeed to the persons who have done them, but the secret guidance, nevertheless, of him who hates every good work that is done for God ; nothing could be more cruel and more dastardly than to say, as has often been said, that only one school of thought can have any attention, or any sympathy, or even any toleration, in South Africa. It is not true. In one city, where I was staying, the Clergyman who was known everywhere as the representative—I abominate all these names—but who was known as the representative of what is called the “evangelical” side of the Church, laughed at the idea that he was not received, and not welcomed, and not loved by his Bishop as much as anyone else.

God have mercy upon those who—it may be through ignorance, and imagining that they are doing God service—are spreading disunion in any part of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church. I wish

that I could take them for a moment to one of the chief cities in Natal, and let them see the representative of what is called—I say again I abominate the word, but it saves time when you are limited for moments—the representative of the so-called “High Church” and the representative of the so-called “Low Church” joining together to hire a hall, in which to endeavour to educate their communicants, and to prepare them for the Mission of Help in 1904.¹

¹ From the *Guardian*, December 2, 1903, p. 1849.

CHAPTER LVI

Return to the Cape—A rough voyage—Episcopal Synod and Sixth Provincial Synod of 1904—An Ordination—A four weeks' visitation—New Cathedral Grammar School opened—Chancel of St. Saviour's, Claremont, consecrated—Thirtieth anniversary of Archbishop's Consecration—The Archbishop in Rhodesia—Dedication of monument to men of the Shangani patrol—Six weeks' visitation—"The Mission of Help" of 1904.

THE Archbishop's departure to the Cape,¹ originally planned for the end of August, the last day of the very week in which the operation, which detained him, took place, had been deferred until Saturday, December 12, 1903. He embarked that day at Southampton in the *Walmer Castle* with Mrs. West Jones and with his Chaplain. But the wind was so high that the ship's head could not be turned, though four tugs were at work. The climax came when the towing hawsers broke, and after a narrow escape from a collision with the *Briton*, which lay alongside the quay, the captain postponed the start till 1 P.M. on Sunday, when he was at last able to get the vessel under weigh. The whole voyage as far as Madeira was excessively rough. Christmas Day was spent on board, and four days later, in the evening of December 29, the vessel reached Capetown. The Archbishop remained on board for the night, and landed next morning about 10 A.M.

The work awaiting him at Bishopscourt was enough to daunt anyone. The house itself required some days' work

¹ During the Archbishop's absence in England, and acting under a commission from him, Dr. Carter, Bishop of Pretoria, consecrated in St. Saviour's Cathedral, Maritzburg, on Ascension Day, May 21, 1903, the Rev. Wilmot Lushington Vyvyan, for two years a Missionary Priest in the Zululand Diocese, to the See of Zululand, to which he had been elected. The Bishops of Lebombo (Smyth), Natal (Baines), and Bloemfontein (Chandler) assisted in this consecration.

to get it into order. Great heaps of correspondence had accumulated, partly owing to the postponement of his return. Many important Diocesan matters were awaiting settlement. The Episcopal Synod and the Provincial Synod were close at hand, and much had to be done yet to prepare for them.

But the Archbishop's energy was perfectly wonderful; and though so recently an invalid, he proceeded to cope with work of many different sorts and kinds with all his wonted vigour. The opening of the Episcopal Synod on January 14 was soon followed by that of the Sixth Provincial Synod on January 23—an intensely hot day, when, even at Bishops-court, on the sheltered side of the mountain, the thermometer registered 99° in the shade, and the vines were scorched with the great heat. From these dates until February 10 and 11, when the Provincial and Episcopal Synods respectively terminated, the strain was simply incessant. Immediately before this Provincial Synod, a Retreat was conducted at the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, by the Rev. Father Congreve, S.S.J.E., which was attended by all the Bishops and by a considerable number of clerical and lay members of Synod. The chief debate of the Synod itself—that on the Constitutional Question—has been already described in Chapter XXXV. The Acts and Resolutions passed included three important new Canons, prescribing rules relating to the election of an Archbishop of Capetown, the exercise of the Bishop's Veto in Synod, and the use of Ecclesiastical Discipline.¹ And the Synod now definitely recognized as Provincial, under the title of the "South African Church Railway Mission," the valuable work originated in the Grahamstown Diocese, and formerly known as the "Grahamstown Railway Mission." Organized by the energy and genius of the Rev. Douglas Ellison, the Mission had been ministering most usefully for some years, and in several Dioceses of the Province, to the many railway officials, station-masters, signalmen, porters, navvies, and others, who were distributed by twos and threes at stations or crossings, by scores at a depôt or a construction camp, or by single families in the very lonely and isolated railway cottages built

¹ Canons 3, 7, and 34, in the *Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (ed. 1904).

on the open veld at intervals of every five miles, as the railway system was pushed further and further north, towards the Zambesi, and even beyond. There was also a "Pro-nouncement upon the Church's Duty to the Native Races in South Africa," which, after its adoption, was ordered to be translated into the various languages spoken in the Province, to be placarded in every church, and to be disseminated as widely as possible throughout the Province.¹

Lastly, the House of the Laity in this Synod passed the following "Unanimous Declaration," which was intended as an answer to certain strange assertions that the Laity in the South African Church were tyrannized by the Clergy!

The Lay Members of the Synod wish to place on its records their appreciation of the position which Laymen occupy in the Synods of the Church of this Province, and in view of statements which have been made in influential quarters without the Province, they feel bound to emphasize the fact that its Constitution and Canons afford due and ample opportunity to the Laity to take part in the legislation of the Church, and to influence the decisions of its governing bodies. They also bear witness that Laymen not only possess such rights, but exercise them freely.

The clearing up of work left behind by the Synod occupied much of the remainder of February. Then came an Ordination, on February 28, in Rondebosch Church, and on March 3 the Archbishop left on a visitation of Swellendam, Heidelberg, Riversdale, and their out-stations, which lasted until March 30, Wednesday in Holy Week. On April 13 he opened the new Cathedral Grammar School, the first section of the buildings appertaining to the New Cathedral. Previous to this ceremony, Canon Ogilvie, who had been its first Principal in 1858, spoke a few valedictory words in the old Grammar School, now about to be demolished.

Four days later (April 17), the Archbishop consecrated the new Chancel of St. Saviour's Church, Claremont, to which he himself gave a fine reredos in memory of the first Bishop of Capetown, though this was not ready until the following year.

May 15, being the nearest Sunday to the actual thirtieth

¹ For the full text, see *Constitution and Canons*, pp. 106-108 (ed. 1904).

anniversary (May 17) of the Archbishop's Consecration in 1874, had been fixed by a Resolution of the Provincial Synod as a day for collections in churches throughout the Province on behalf of the Capetown New Cathedral, by way of commemoration of his long Episcopate. The response was a sum of about £1200; and the *Church Chronicle for South Africa* noted the fact that, by date of Consecration, the Archbishop of Capetown had been for some time the Senior Metropolitan of the whole Anglican Communion, and that only six Bishops in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies were now his seniors in the number of the years of their Episcopate, and added :

How greatly the confidence placed in the Archbishop by the authorities of the Mother Church has benefited the Province, cannot be stated ; and the affectionate and reverential esteem with which he is regarded within the Province, cannot be sufficiently described.

On June 29, the Archbishop left Capetown by train for Bulawayo to dedicate the memorial to Major Allan Wilson and the thirty or forty men of the patrol who fell with him in the Matabele War of 1893. He was accompanied by Mrs. West Jones and their eldest son, Lieut. (now Capt.) W. A. F. Jones, R.F.A. Sir William Milton, Administrator of South Rhodesia, and Lady Milton received them at Government House, three miles outside Bulawayo, and were "kindness and hospitality itself." Thence he went on to see the Victoria Falls, known to the natives as Mosi-oa-tunya (lit. "Smoke does thunder there"), where the Zambesi River, which has been spread out in a calm broad stream two miles wide, contracts to about half that width, and then plunges suddenly downwards in one magnificent cataract more than 400 feet in height, with a deafening roar, and throwing up gigantic columns of vaporous spray a thousand feet into the air. The Archbishop's own account of his experiences is given in the *Cape Church Monthly* for September :

The first three weeks of July were spent in Rhodesia. I visited first the Matopo Hills, where Cecil Rhodes's body lies beneath a single flat stone, and within sight of that grave I conducted, with the Archdeacon of Matabeleland, the Ven. F. H. Beaven,¹ the religious

¹ Bishop of Mashonaland, 1911.

Service at the unveiling of the granite monument to the memory of Wilson and his heroic men, who fell fighting at the Shangani. It was a most impressive sight. Among the solitary hills, picturesquely strewn on every side with huge granite boulders, and covered with thick semi-tropical vegetation, there stood a thousand or more persons on an altitude with that fine prospect which gave rise to the name by which Mr. Rhodes called it, "The World's View." Here, in the presence of this concourse, Lady Milton unveiled the monument, Sir William Milton pronounced an admirably sympathetic and really eloquent address, and the solemn service of commendation was held. It was an occasion never to be forgotten !

Two days later we left for the Victoria Falls, where we spent two whole days, enjoying the hospitality of Mr. Fox, one of the engineers engaged on the railway. I shall make no attempt to describe the splendid grandeur of the scene at the Great Falls. It is enough to say that I never saw, and probably shall never see, any natural glory so glorious as this, or anything that brings one, in thought, so close to the Majesty of God, as the Creator of the world in which we live.

After his return to Bishops court on July 19, he had but one clear day, and then started on a six weeks' visitation of the parishes of Worcester, Robertson, Prince Albert, Oudtshoorn, Willowmore, and Uniondale. A few days after he had come back to the Cape Peninsula, the concluding local Missions of the "Mission of Help" began. A full and excellent account of the work of this great enterprise may be read in *The Mission of Help to the Church in South Africa*, by the Rev. A. W. Robinson, D.D., and nothing more than the briefest outline can be given here.

The Mission originated in a suggestion by Lady Loch, which she herself traces back to thoughts stirred by a chance remark of Mr. C. J. Rhodes some years before. Her idea was that it would be of inestimable value to the Church in South Africa, if the Church of England would send out some of her able and talented men for purposes of encouragement and strengthening, after the troubles and turmoil of the great war. This suggestion was eagerly welcomed and worked out by Dr. G. H. Wilkinson, Bishop of St. Andrews and Primus of the Scottish Church. Under his guidance a committee of ladies was formed, with Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, as President, to collect the funds required to send out a body of between thirty and forty Missioners. This committee, in which Lady Loch herself

took a prominent part, worked most industriously, and gathered the whole sum of £6000 needed for the sending out of the Missioners, *i.e.* for the filling of their places in their absence, and for their journey to South Africa, etc. A large additional amount for local expenses was raised by the South African Dioceses and parishes themselves. In the Executive Committee, which arranged everything in England, the Bishop of St. Andrews was President, and the Ven. C. F. J. Bourke, Archdeacon of Buckingham, Secretary and Treasurer, with the Rev. Wharton B. Smith, formerly Canon of Grahamstown, to assist him. In 1902, a body of six pioneers went out, including Dr. W. B. Hornby, formerly Bishop of Nyasaland and subsequently of Nassau, and the Revs. M. B. Furse and J. P. Maud, afterwards Bishops of Pretoria and Kensington respectively. These conferred with the Archbishop, Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Church of South Africa, and came back with their report. In 1903 three other pioneers were sent, the Bishop of St. Andrews himself,¹ Dr. Scott Holland, Canon of St. Paul's, and the Very Rev. A. E. Campbell, Provost of St. Ninian's, Perth, who was consecrated in the following year Bishop of Glasgow. Lastly, in 1904, there came the large band of the actual Missioners, under the leadership of Dr. Hoskyns, Bishop of Burnley, who was appointed, whilst in South Africa, Bishop of Southwell. On April 26, after their landing at Capetown, there was a Service of Reception in Capetown Cathedral, when each Missioner was introduced by name to the Archbishop, who then delivered his charge to them, and, after this, gave them singly his blessing. The Mission was so planned that other Dioceses were visited first, Capetown Diocese last, and the Cape Peninsula last of all. On September 9, those Missioners whose final work was to be in this quarter, were received with a Service and Benediction, similar to those with which the whole band had been welcomed in April. The whole Mission ended with a Service of Thanksgiving in Capetown Cathedral on October 25,

¹ A touching incident is told by Canon A. J. Mason, in his *Life of G. H. Wilkinson, Bishop of St. Andrews*, in connexion with this visit to South Africa. All the way out, and for some time after his arrival, the Bishop had battled bravely against a chronic and distressing depression, which he could not shake off. But one day, whilst he was watching the coloured children of St. Philip's, Capetown, at their games, the depression suddenly and completely passed away, never to return, at least not in its old and aggravated form.

when the Bishop of Burnley, Bishop-Designate of Southwell, preached the sermon, and then, after the singing of a hymn, and before the final Procession, *Te Deum*, and last Benediction, "the Archbishop, standing at the Altar, in words of deep emotion, expressed the Church's gratitude to God for the great blessing of the Mission, and the sorrow with which they would bid farewell to the faithful men who had been His instruments in the great work, the memory of which would be an abiding one for years to come."¹

Of the results of the Mission, so far as they can be seen and known, the most conspicuous in the Capetown Diocese were the foundation of the "English Church Men's Society"²; the increase of the "Mothers' Union" from a single branch to a vigorous and widespread society; a great growth of the "G.F.S."; and lastly, as a special thank-offering from the women of the Diocese, the inauguration of a Refuge for the Fallen, as a supplementary institution to the work of the House of Mercy. The Coadjutor Bishop (Dr. Gibson) enumerates, as other visible results, the development and the recognition of several vocations to the Sacred Ministry, a marked increase of Confirmation candidates, and a general unifying and pacific influence. And he sums up by saying :

That the Mission gripped people at the time, there can be no doubt ; and there is every reason to hope that in many cases a lasting impression has been made by work which is destined to bear the test of time ; that souls have been brought, or brought back, to Christ ; and that Church members have come to realize, as never before, that the Church is the Body of Christ, that they themselves are a royal priesthood, and that they have work to do in the Body for the Head.

It was very remarkable how accurately those who had the allotment of the several parishes to the several Missioners had gauged the suitability of particular men for particular places. Each parish, it was found, contended that no one equalled its own Missioner ; and one enthusiastic person declared, with the greatest emphasis and the most delightful assurance :

¹ *The Church Chronicle for South Africa*, October 28, 1904.

² This is identical with the "Church of England Men's Society" in England.

Other parishes *think* they have the best. We *know* that we have. No one *could* be better than ours.

Robben Island had been included in the Mission by special request, and a leper woman's remark after the Mission was over is worth mentioning, for it shows, in a quaint way, a very real and deep feeling. "Mijnheer," she said to her own Priest, "my heart was quite broken inside!"

Though the Mission of Help of 1904 was almost entirely for the benefit of the English-speaking¹ Church people of South Africa, arrangements were made to extend it in the following year, between February and October, to many Dutch-speaking congregations in the Diocese of Capetown, and also to some native Missions; and in this extension several of the Clergy of the Diocese of Capetown took a principal part. Some of the Missioners have also returned in subsequent years for "revisits."

The Archbishop, after the conclusion of the Mission of Help, presented each Missioner with a copy of Dr. R. C. Moberly's book, *Sorrow, Sin, and Beauty*, as a little memento from himself.

¹ Including, of course, a large number who were not of English, or even European, race.

CHAPTER LVII

Death of Ven. T. F. Lightfoot, Archdeacon of the Cape, 1904—Impressive funeral, and the Archbishop's testimony—Lord Roberts again in Capetown—Round Table Conference of Clergy and Ministers on Religious Education—The Archbishop and members of other religious communions.

WHILST the Archbishop was away at the Paarl in the course of his second visitation round for this year, he received, on Saturday November 12, news that the Archdeacon of the Cape, the Ven. T. F. Lightfoot,¹ so well-beloved by him as by countless others, was *in extremis*. He returned to Capetown immediately. But the Archdeacon had already passed away at 2.45 P.M. To all who knew him the loss was a great one, and not least to the Archbishop himself. But no one, after his many years of toil and so much recent suffering, could grudge him his well-earned rest. "His face was looking simply beautiful," wrote the Archbishop, who had just come from the room where the body lay, "so pure and sweet, no lines or wrinkles, or any appearance of pain." Returning to the Paarl for the Sunday, the Archbishop was in Capetown again on Monday for the funeral. There had been an early Eucharist in St. Paul's Church, whither the body had been conveyed on the Sunday night, and in the afternoon the first part of the Burial Service was said in the Church, which was crowded with a very large number of persons, chiefly of the Archdeacon's own congregation. Then a procession was formed, which, headed by Cross, Choir, and a long array of Priests in surplices, passed through Bree Street, Wale Street, and

¹ Born in 1831, ordained Deacon 1857, and Priest 1859. He arrived at the Cape in 1858, was appointed Missionary Canon in 1870, and Archdeacon of the Cape in 1885.

Adderley Street to the railway station. Traffic was suspended, shops were closed, and pavements were densely packed with tens of thousands, who stood with the greatest reverence and respect whilst the procession went by. Special trains took many hundreds to the cemetery near Maitland. At the cemetery the procession was formed again, in the same order as before, and chanting the funeral psalms moved on to the grave, where, gathered beneath and round a group of small pine-trees, stood an assemblage of 2000 persons, who joined with evident earnestness in the Lord's Prayer and in the singing of the hymns.

There was all the impressiveness of a public funeral, and yet it was perfectly spontaneous. The multitude in the streets was even larger than at the funeral of Cecil Rhodes. And no more deeply touching sight could have been seen than in St. Paul's Church that morning, when thousands of poor people filed through, weeping as they went, to take one last farewell look where he lay, who had loved them so well, and had lived and laboured amongst them for six and forty years.

The Archbishop in the *Cape Church Monthly* for December wrote of the Archdeacon as follows :

It is quite impossible, to me at least, to express in words any adequate appreciation of the life and character of Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot. We could know only the saintly outward life, as it showed itself to us and to the world—the visible and tangible expression of that still more beautiful inward spirit, which God alone can know in all its hidden goodness and purity. If the question were asked, Who in the whole Cape Peninsula was the man, most truly representative of every influence which promoted the happiness, the welfare, the culture, the moral, physical, and religious interests of the whole community, no one would hesitate for a moment to return the answer. If the question were, Who had most entirely called forth the love, the veneration, the admiration, of every class and of every race amongst us, the answer would undoubtedly be the same. The marvellous demonstration which was witnessed in the streets of Capetown throughout the long route of the procession on the occasion of his funeral—the most marvellous, probably, ever seen in this Colony—would in itself answer such questions as these.

I cannot read that description given of St. Barnabas, as "a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith," without thinking of him whose earthly presence is gone from us. Nor in the whole

course of my life have I met with any one who appeared to me to have more nearly reached the ideal of the Heavenly Master's life, "Who went about doing good."

It is difficult to point to any beneficial department of human life and action in which his death will not be sorely felt. The Church and society at large, the Public Library, the various philanthropic agencies of Capetown, more especially the New Somerset Hospital and the Free Dispensary, have been the constant objects of his care and of his zealous support. All who have lived for more than a short period here, will feel they have lost a personal friend; for, even if they have never spoken with him, they knew his face and they knew his life. And that face and that life were eloquent of what he was.

To the Clergy of the whole Diocese he has been a real elder brother, never grudging his active help or his wise and sagacious advice. As for myself, I can truly say, that I feel I have lost

animae dimidium meae.

I cannot describe, perhaps I scarcely even know or realize myself, what he has been to me. God be praised, that He has given us lights to shine in the midst of the darkness, such mirrors to reflect the brightness of Him, Who is the Light of the world.

Field-Marshal Lord Roberts passed through Capetown in the middle of November on his way to Natal to visit the battlefield of Colenso, and the grave of his gallant son at Chieveley. The Mayor of Capetown gave a luncheon in his honour on November 15, at which the Archbishop was present. At the end of the same month Viscount and Lady Halifax, their son the Hon. E. Wood, and Major and Mrs. Sutton, their son-in-law and daughter, came over to see Bishops court, and were much delighted with the wonderful beauty of the situation, the noble trees in the garden, and the majestic grandeur of the mountain precipices above it.

Quite at the end of the year the Archbishop presided at a Round Table Conference of Clergy and Ministers of different religious bodies. The object of the conference was to press upon Parliament the recognition of religion in public schools; and an unanimous resolution was carried in favour of Bible teaching, and of the use of prayer at the opening of the school day. Not much was possible in Parliament at this juncture; but it was something, at least, to have saved the public schools from entire secularization.

And this the Conference achieved. In such united action, where no principles were surrendered, and no confusion was risked, the Archbishop was always ready to join. But he steadily declined to associate himself with any movement by which true Church principles would be obscured ; though, in spite of separation in matters of religion, he maintained most cordial personal friendship with several of the leading men in other communions, as the following affectionate letter to a well-known Presbyterian Minister will show :

From the Archbishop of Capetown to the Rev. Dr. Cameron.

MY DEAR DR. CAMERON—I should much have liked to be present last evening at your farewell gathering ; but I could not possibly manage it. Other engagements likewise will prevent my coming on Wednesday to see you on board the vessel. But you know my feelings towards you, and my love for you, and how deeply I regret your departure. Living as we do so far apart, it has not been possible for us to see much of one another ; but we have known each other well, and have been able very largely to enter into each other's feelings. I shall miss you very much, and I earnestly hope that God may so overrule events as to bring you out again to live amongst us.

With our united kindest regards to Mrs. Cameron, and my own love to yourself—Believe me, always affectionately yours,

W. W. CAPETOWN.

Here, again, is evidence, from the other side, as it were, of such a friendship, and written by one who describes himself and his family as “lifelong adherents of the Wesleyan Church” :

I first had the pleasure of meeting the Archbishop some thirty years ago in a little town, to which he paid occasional pastoral visits, and where I held the appointment of Resident Engineer for a period of about twenty-seven years. From our first acquaintance he favoured me myself, and each member of my family, with a warm interest, which increased as time went on, and lasted until the end of his life ; and each time he invariably came to see us—a prominent dissenting family—almost immediately after his arrival.

There was no room in his large heart for narrowness or sectarianism. So thoroughly had he won the love and esteem of the Wesleyans, who formed 75 per cent of the population of the town to which reference is made, that, on the Sunday mornings when he officiated, the Wesleyans, unsolicited, gave up their own Service to enable their congregation to attend. On each of his visits, he gave

an address to men in the public hall on Sunday afternoon. Almost every man went ; and all left the hall charmed with the good Bishop, who, as they said, "never scolded us for attending the wrong church, but did his best to induce us to become better men."

As an instance of the Archbishop's broad-minded tolerance, I may relate the following incident. At a certain social gathering a friend of his made a disparaging remark about the Roman Catholic Church. The Archbishop promptly expressed his disapproval, telling us, "It always pains me to hear anything unfriendly said in reference to any other Church. Besides this, the Roman Catholic Bishop and I are personal friends."

If I were called upon to name the predominating faculty, gift, or trait that characterized him, I should mention neither his learning, dignity, nor eloquence, although he was eminent in all three. I should say without hesitation that it was his marvellous power of attracting and radiating love. I have never met with any person similarly endowed with this wonderful faculty. He exercised it wherever he went, and upon all with whom he came in contact.

Now just a brief glance at the final scene. The good Archbishop in 1908 on board the steamer, about to go home (as it proved) to die, and surrounded by a host of friends, doubtless of his own Church. On looking round, however, he recognized the members of my dissenting family, come to wish him "God-speed." His beautiful smile, his warm hand-grasp, and his thanks for our little attention, will not readily be effaced from our memories.

CHAPTER LVIII

Year of ingathering, 1905—Admission of first Colonial-born Deaconess in the Diocese of Capetown—Consecration of Churches of St. Michael and All Angels, Observatory ; St. Peter's, Church Haven—Opening of Seamen's Institute and Dedication of its Chapel—A strange incident at the laying of the foundation-stone of St. George's Church, Groot Drakenstein—Thirteenth Synod of the Capetown Diocese—The Archbishop on the Athanasian Creed, on his own failing health, and on the duty of giving a tenth—The Archbishop's own liberality to the *Church Chronicle*.

THE year 1905 may be said to have been a time of quiet ingathering of the fruits of the great "Mission of Help." But the Diocesan and Provincial correspondence on all kinds of matters, including the Ethiopian Order, was extraordinarily heavy—heavier, perhaps, than any other year's correspondence had ever been before.

It was a new event in the history of the Diocese of Capetown, when on March 2 in this year the Archbishop admitted to the office of Deaconess Miss Florence Jones, who belonged to a well-known Cape family ; though two Deaconesses from England had worked in the Diocese in former years. Deaconess Florence, as she was now called, fixed her abode at Woodstock, and it was the Archbishop's hope that she would be able to gather others round her who would devote themselves to similar work in the parishes of the Diocese—a work different indeed in character from that to which Sisters of Mercy are called, but in its own sphere most valuable.¹

In St. George's Cathedral, Capetown, on St. John the Baptist's Day, June 24, assisted by the Bishops of Lebombo

¹ Though this hope was not immediately realized, the arrival in 1912 of two more Deaconesses from England may now draw attention to this department of women's work, and lead some to discover that their vocation in life lies in this direction.

(Smyth), Grahamstown (Cornish), St. John's, Kaffraria (Williams), and Bloemfontein (Chandler), the Archbishop consecrated the Dean of Bloemfontein, the Very Rev. William Arthur Holbech, M.A., of B.N.C., Oxford, Dean of Bloemfontein, to the See of St. Helena. The new Bishop had been previously Canon and Chancellor of Bloemfontein Cathedral, and Archdeacon of Kimberley, and had worked nearly thirty years in South Africa.

A special interest attaches itself to three churches consecrated or dedicated during 1905. In the immediate neighbourhood of Capetown the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Observatory, enlarged practically into a new Church by the addition of new Chancel, Lady Chapel, and Transepts, was consecrated by the Archbishop on June 18, and is now one of the most beautiful buildings in the whole Diocese. St. Peter's, Church Haven, on the coast of Malmesbury parish, cannot vie with the Church at Observatory in size and beauty, but it has a very wonderful history. Church Haven is one of the three chief Mission stations on the shores of Saldanha Bay, Langebaan and Hoetjes Bay being the other two. Mention has been made already of the wonderful generosity of the people of these hamlets, and of their large gifts towards the relief of the sick and wounded during the war. After the Mission of Help, the inhabitants of Church Haven determined to build a new Church, as their own special thank-offering. When this building was complete, there remained upon it a debt of £44 only. The sequel may be told in the Archbishop's own words :

At 8.30 A.M. on September 19, we had the solemn dedication of the new Church, which is all of stone, and a Confirmation of 14 persons, and then a Celebration with 104 Communicants, of whom 94 belonged to the place, though it contains only 31 families of fishermen, numbering about 175 souls, all told. The other 10 came from Langebaan. The Church had been built entirely by the people themselves. They had already contributed £83 in money, and at least £150 in labour and material, and £44 was still needed to clear off the debt. But the people had determined to do this on the day of dedication ; and they did it. The collection was £53, of which over £40 was given by the fisher-folk themselves. You should have heard the cheers outside the little Church, when the amount of the collection was announced after the Service ! The catechist tells me

that no case of drunkenness or immorality has been known in the place for more than ten years. And the behaviour of the people in Church is quite beautiful.¹

Besides the two Churches just mentioned, the Archbishop also dedicated this year the Chapel at the Seamen's Institute at Capetown. Saturday October 21, the day of the Nelson Centenary, was appropriately chosen for the formal opening of the Institute by Dr. (now Sir) Thomas Smartt, and the dedication of the Chapel took place the same afternoon. The completion of this admirable Seamen's Institute, said at the time to be the best in the world, was the crowning fulfilment of a long-cherished hope on the part of the Archbishop. Twenty-five years ago he had tried very hard to obtain from the Harbour Board at Capetown permission to hold Divine Service in a building near the Dock Gates, which was in use as a School, and had applied to the Secretary of the Missions to Seamen for a Chaplain, who might visit with a sailing boat the ships in the Bay. But the Harbour Board of that time refused the permission asked, and the attempt to begin a Seamen's Mission failed. In 1894, however, the Capetown Diocesan Board of Missions, at the Archbishop's suggestion, took up the subject, and succeeded in forming a guarantee list, covering a period of three years, for the initial expenses of a Seamen's Mission, with the happy result that at length, in March 1897, the Rev. Alan Williams, Chaplain of the Missions to Seamen on the Mersey, came out to begin work as Port Chaplain at Capetown. The Missions to Seamen Society provided his stipend, and first the Diocesan Missionary Board, and then a vigorous local committee of merchants and others interested in the shipping community, raised funds for the work. What Mr. Williams achieved in the course of his nine years in Capetown was quite wonderful. Beginning by hiring, in July 1897, a wing of the old-established Sailors' Home to serve as a temporary Institute, he obtained, in 1899, the affiliation of this to the Missions to Seamen

¹ This out-of-the-way little fishing village was just as liberal in giving towards the building of the Capetown New Cathedral, as it had been in giving to the relief of the sick and wounded in the war and to the building of its own new church. In this same year the Capetown Diocesan Synod inaugurated a "New Cathedral Five Shilling Fund," and the Rector of Malmesbury wrote a few weeks later: "At Church Haven the list has been closed, every person in a position to do so having subscribed. This record may be equalled, but cannot be beaten."

Society; in 1902 he secured the help of an Assistant Chaplain, and the purchase for £200 of a steam launch for visiting the vessels lying in harbour; and in the eighth year, 1905, he achieved that which he had kept steadily before him from the first as indispensable, the building of a thoroughly equipped Seamen's Institute.¹

A very strange incident occurred at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Church of St. George at Groot Drakenstein, which was then a part of the parish of the Paarl. It was summer time, Sunday afternoon, November 19, and the ground upon which the Church was to stand was surrounded by trees, and a great concourse of people had assembled for the occasion from the fruit-farms round about. Suddenly, in the midst of the Service, as if it were the spirit of evil claiming the place, a large cobra sprang out of the bush and made straight for a group of women standing near the stone. There was some alarm at first. But the men hurried up with sticks, and speedily despatched the great serpent; and the Service continued. By a curious coincidence the building itself was to be dedicated as the Church of St. George, and Groot Drakenstein, the name of the village, literally means "Great Dragon Stone." The completed Church was consecrated by the Archbishop eight months later, on St. James' Day, July 25, 1906.

The thirteenth Synod of the Diocese of Capetown, preceded by a Retreat at Kalk Bay, at which the Archbishop was present, and by a Clerical Conference on October 13, opened on October 14, 1905, and lasted ten days.

At the end of his charge, delivered at the opening Service, the Archbishop said in reference to the Athanasian Creed:

The movement to deal with the "Confession of our Christian Faith, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius" by way of mutilation, or by relegation to an obscure corner of the Prayer Book, or by suppression, or by a merely permissive use in the Services of the Church—none of which can be carried through in England without a change in our Rubric by the joint action of Convocation and Parliament—is another symptom of the same spirit and tendency

¹ A daughter Institute was inaugurated by him at East London in the Grahamstown Diocese, where work began as long ago as 1898; and, since his return to England in 1906, another daughter Institute has been established at Lourenço Marques in the Lebombo Diocese. But in both these places the buildings are still, in 1913, only temporary.

to regard belief in the greatest doctrinal truths as not of vital importance. Our own Province has taken care, to the utmost of her power, through a clause in the Constitution, to provide against any change in this respect, so far as concerns ourselves.

I am convinced that if only the language of this Confession of Faith is carefully explained, as it ought to be from time to time, to our people by their parish Clergy, and if the real meaning of its words is wisely and carefully made clear ; it will be seen that its defining statements of Church doctrines are all involved in the essential truths of Christianity as regards the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of Christ ; and that the clauses commonly called monitory, or, for the sake of odium, minatory, or even damnatory, apply only to those who have fully known the fundamental truths of Christianity, and have then, with their eyes open, wilfully repudiated them, or apostatized from them ; and that these statements are but as warning-bells to mariners in danger of being wrecked on a dangerous coast, or as a wall protecting travellers who are moving along the edge of a precipice. They are, indeed, statements involving practically no more than those uttered by our Lord Himself and His Apostles, which have reached us through the pages of Holy Scripture. To suppress and silence this Creed, is to suppress and silence the voice by which, and by which alone, our Church has always publicly enunciated the solemn truth, that every man is responsible before God for the faith which he holds.

Immediately after this, the Archbishop concluded very seriously, yet in no melancholy spirit :

My brethren beloved in Christ, I cannot but feel the gravity of the occasion on which I address you. This is the ninth¹ Synod of the Diocese held during my episcopate. Over eight of these I have personally presided. I can hardly hope to preside over another. Advancing years and failing powers, both of mind and body, have brought me, I will not absolutely say to this conclusion, but to this belief. God only knows what may be in store ; but I cannot help feeling the probability of this being the last occasion of my addressing you from this place at the opening of a Synod. I can only pray God may forgive me my many shortcomings, and all I have done or said, which may have in any way hindered the cause of His Truth or the welfare of His Church. I can never be forgetful of all the love that the Diocese, both Clergy and Laity, have shown to me ; the generous kindness with which they welcomed me, when I came thirty-one years ago, a young man, to take up my noble predecessor's work ; nor the loyalty which has been shown to me by virtually the whole Diocese from that day to this. All these considerations make me feel acutely the solemnity of this occasion, and of the words I have read to you.

¹ The Capetown Diocesan Synod was up to this time held only once in three years.

Only may God have you and this Diocese in His holy keeping. May He strengthen us to perform His most holy Will, and to feel that we all, of whatever condition, or race, or colour, have one great work in common to do, to labour together, as one man, for His honour, for the edification and salvation of souls, and for the peace and well-being of His Church. To Him I commend you in the Name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

During the course of this Synod a Lay Representative moved and carried a Resolution in favour of the recognition of the principle that a tenth of all income rightly belongs to God. In the debate on this matter the Archbishop, quite simply, and almost unconsciously, revealed his own practice in this matter. He told the Synod how, when still a boy, he had received from an elder brother a gift of £5, and that, in giving it, the brother had said, "Now, remember, ten shillings of that belong to God, and you must always give back to Him one-tenth of all that you receive." So he had started from that day with a principle to instruct and guide his whole life, and for this piece of good advice, which he had followed ever since, he had never ceased to be thankful.

The Archbishop did not, however, say, what those are aware of who knew him most intimately, that he was far from being content to stop short with giving a tenth. He gave that amount, as in duty bound; and, beyond that, as much more as he could afford. Many, indeed, have wondered how, not being by any means a rich man, he could give so largely as he did, and one conspicuous instance of his generosity belongs to this very year. A Church newspaper, to circulate throughout the Dioceses of South Africa, had been inaugurated shortly before the meeting of the Provincial Synod of 1904, under the title of *The Church Chronicle for the Province of South Africa*. The Rev. William Crisp, B.D., Canon of Capetown, and Diocesan Secretary, was the first Editor,¹ doing all the editorial work gratis, and doing it

¹ After four and a half years of strenuous work he resigned the Editorship about the middle of 1908, and died on December 14, 1910. He was an accomplished Secoana Scholar and translator, and a very able Missionary, and before he came into the Capetown Diocese had been successively Missionary Canon, Chancellor and Provost of Bloemfontein Cathedral, and Archdeacon of Bloemfontein. All who knew him, testify to his amazing industry, his kindly affection for old friends and acquaintances of past years, and his extraordinarily simple and devoted life, wholly dedicated to the service of Christ in His Church. (See *Church Chronicle for South Africa*, December 22, 1910.)

with the greatest ability. The paper received official recognition from the Provincial Synod of 1904, and continued to appear regularly, week by week, until the end of 1905. Then publication had to be suspended for four months, owing chiefly to defective book-keeping, which was not at all the fault of the Editor. But the Archbishop felt so strongly the value of such a paper to the Church of the Province, that he came forward and did what no one else would do. He guaranteed the whole deficit, and actually paid £332, on condition that the paper should be revived. It was, of course, felt to be an intolerable thing that he should be left to pay all this amount out of his own pocket, and by a vigorous canvass £230 was collected towards refunding him. But after this, he declined to receive any more, and himself voluntarily bore the loss of the remaining £102. On May 2, 1906, after a complete reorganization of its financial and business arrangements, the *Church Chronicle* reappeared under the joint editorship of Canon Crisp and Father Bull, and since then, with necessary changes of editorship, it has gone steadily on, and has won its way to general acceptance in the Province.

CHAPTER LIX

Resignation of Dr. Gibson, the Coadjutor Bishop, 1906—The problem raised by his resignation—Elective Assembly delegates to the Archbishop the choice of Dr. Gibson's successor—Consecration of the Rev. W. M. Cameron as Coadjutor Bishop—Dr. Cameron appointed Acting Provincial of the Order of Ethiopia.

IN May of this year, in a Cape autumn more than usually glorious,¹ there came a sudden and great blow. The Coadjutor Bishop, Dr. Gibson, was told by his doctors that it was absolutely imperative for him to give up all work for two or, perhaps, three years. On May 17 he went to announce this decision to the Archbishop. "I am dreadfully grieved," wrote the Archbishop on this day, "both for him and for the Diocese. What *is* to be done? God will show us. A sad anniversary of my consecration."

To the Bishop himself he wrote at this time :

You have always been the most loyal of colleagues and the kindest of friends. I shrink from the thought of the spiritual destitution in which the scattered sheep of the flock would have been, but for your labours amongst them. To myself the shock is all the greater, because of the increasing infirmities of age, and the mental strain of an episcopate of thirty-two years.

The Archbishop had now to face a most difficult question. Had the time come when he himself ought to resign? Unless he resigned, he must ask the Diocese to elect another Coadjutor Bishop; for to go on alone was certainly impossible. But, then, to ask for the appointment of another

¹ The Archbishop wrote on May 30: "The gold and green of the oaks at Bishopscourt against the deep blue of the skies is most gorgeous, and the mountain stands out clear and beautiful and blue, as a background to the whole. We have had some nice rains, so all is fresh and green in the garden. The roses go on flowering away, as if it were summer; and the arums are just beginning."

Coadjutor Bishop would be equivalent to pledging himself to continue to work on for at least two years more. It would be obviously unfair to ask anyone to become Coadjutor Bishop in the Capetown Diocese, where the office carries with it no right of succession to the See, and then to resign any sooner, leaving the new Bishop in a very trying position and without any certain prospect in the future. On the one hand, the Archbishop's own health had long ago shown serious signs of failing. On the other hand, there were several perplexing matters, which it hardly seemed right to leave unsettled, as a legacy of trouble to his successor.

In these bewildering circumstances the Archbishop, of course, consulted his own Chapter, and also the Bishops of the Province. And their advice was strongly against his resignation. Yet, after all, whatever others might think, the burden and responsibility of the ultimate decision necessarily rested upon him ; for he alone could, to some extent, gauge his own strength, and his ability to go on with the peculiarly toilsome life which he was then living. He fully recognized this fact himself. For more than two and a half months his decision was delayed ; and only on the very day on which he left Bishopscourt for his long journey, *viâ* Grahamstown, and then through the Orange Free State to Natal and Zululand, and so back through Kaffraria, did he at length instruct his Chaplain to draw up the document which, as he said, "sealed his fate." It was the Mandate summoning the Elective Assembly of the Diocese of Capetown for the choice of another Coadjutor Bishop. His signature to it was one of his very last acts before he departed on his journey ; and, even then, he signed it with misgiving, saying that he knew not whether he was doing right. But during those two and a half months of suspense he had spent much time in careful consideration and in prayer for Divine guidance ; and those who look back now, cannot but think that the guidance was indeed granted, and that the decision was a right one.

The Elective Assembly met on November 6. The Archdeacon of George, the Ven. P. P. Fogg, in an eloquent speech said that "though he himself had not always seen eye to eye with the Archbishop, yet he thought no other man in Christendom could have guided the Church so successfully

through such great difficulties": and he proposed that the Assembly should delegate to the Archbishop himself its own right of choice; so that he, who from long experience knew the Diocese thoroughly, and knew the kind of helper he needed, might choose his own Coadjutor. The course suggested commended itself to the Assembly, which voted with absolute unanimity in favour of the delegation. Only eight days later, the Archbishop was able to announce that he had offered the post to the Rev. W. M. Cameron, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Ryde, in the Isle of Wight, formerly for many years a Missionary in Kaffraria, and more recently Missioner to the Ethiopians, and that his offer had been accepted. In making this announcement, he said that he had thought it not unlikely that the Elective Assembly would leave the choice to him, and that, in considering whom, in that event, he might choose, he had suddenly thought of Mr. Cameron as the person best qualified. Meanwhile, quite independently, on the same day and about the same hour, the same idea had occurred to Dr. Gibson, his first Coadjutor Bishop. This coincidence had seemed to him so like an indication of the Divine Will, that he had made a provisional offer to Mr. Cameron beforehand, conditional on the choice being delegated by the Elective Assembly; this offer, after the delegation had taken place, he had confirmed by cable; and now had had the satisfaction of receiving, also by cable, the news of Mr. Cameron's acceptance.

Dr. Gibson's work in the Diocese, which had lasted for more than twelve years, and is everywhere gratefully and affectionately remembered to this day, concluded with the end of the year 1906. He sailed for England a fortnight later. The Archbishop, who went down to the ship to bid him farewell, wrote of his departure, "A sad parting; but there is a hope of his return."¹

¹ Besides the valuable help which Dr. Gibson had given in other ways, he had made two pioneering journeys outside the Province and beyond the Orange River (viz. in German South West Africa or Great Namaqualand in 1901, and in Portuguese West Africa, still further north, in 1903), with the view of ascertaining what persons belonging to the English Church might be living scattered here and there in these enormous tracts of arid land, and what opening there might be for Missionary work among the native tribes, or even for the constitution of another Missionary Bishopric. (See his own book, *Between Capetown and Loanda*, published by Wells Gardner, Darton & Co. in 1905.) After his resignation of the Coadjutor Bishopric of Capetown, the Bishops of the Province appointed him in 1907, at his own desire, Missionary Bishop of Walfisch Bay, but ill-health

The new Coadjutor Bishop, Dr. Cameron, for he had received the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity before he sailed for South Africa, was consecrated in Capetown Cathedral on St. Matthias' Day, February 24, 1907. All the ten Bishops of the Province¹ took part in the Consecration, and the Rev. Father Puller, S.S.J.E., preached a magnificent sermon on "The Apostolic Commission." In the Episcopal Synod which followed, the discussion of matters affecting the Ethiopian Order absorbed, as has been already stated, practically the whole session, from Monday morning till Saturday evening. When the choice of the Bishops in selecting an Acting Provincial for the Order of Ethiopia fell upon Dr. Cameron, the newly consecrated Coadjutor Bishop, the Archbishop at first protested energetically that it was too much to ask either himself or the Diocese to give up the help, which both so sorely needed, and had only so recently obtained. But, with characteristic activity of mind and openness to conviction, in the short interval before the Bishops reassembled in Synod in the afternoon, he had reconsidered the matter and had modified his conclusion. With the help of the Bishops of St. John's and Bloemfontein, who promised to assist him by taking Confirmations in certain outlying parts of his Diocese during the ensuing year, he now said he thought he could spare the Coadjutor Bishop for the time which the exercise of his office of Acting Provincial would occupy, though he consented with real reluctance and regret, and only for the sake of that all-important work, which it seemed that he alone could do, for the Order of Ethiopia.

prevented him from ever actually beginning work. In 1912 the Rev. F. C. Boehm was commissioned as Chaplain to the Archbishop of Capetown (Dr. Carter) for work in these regions, and went up to Walfisch Bay for a period of two years. Thus the desire for a Mission on the west coast, expressed by Robert Gray, first Bishop of Capetown, as long ago as 1860, and repeated in 1876 by his successor, the second Metropolitan Bishop, is at last on the way to fulfilment.

¹ *i.e.* The Archbishop of Capetown (West Jones), and the Bishops of Pretoria (Carter), Lebombo (Smyth), Mashonaland (Gaul), Grahamstown (Cornish), Natal (Baines), St. John's (Williams), Bloemfontein (Chandler), Zululand (Vyvyan), and St. Helena (Holbech).

CHAPTER LX

A long journey, 1906—Grahamstown, Kroonstad, Ladysmith, and Natal battlefields—St. Augustine's Mission, Zululand—Isandhlwana and an address to the Zulu survivors of the battle of 1879—Rorke's Drift—St. Augustine's Day at St. Augustine's Mission—Dundee and Talana—Maritzburg and the Natal Synod—The Archbishop in Kaffraria—St. Cuthbert's Mission—Umtata—Port St. John's—Consecration of new Cathedral at Umtata—All Saints' Mission, Engcobo—Meeting of Ethiopian Chapter at Queenstown—Return to Bishops court.

BRIEF allusion has been made more than once to the Archbishop's long journey in 1906, when he reached not only Natal and Kaffraria, which he had seen before, but Zululand, which he had never hitherto entered.

He left Bishops court with Mrs. West Jones on the evening of August 7, and travelled by train to Grahamstown. It was a bitterly cold night. Next morning the top of Table Mountain above Capetown was covered with snow, a rare occurrence; snow lay deep on the railway in the Hex River pass; and snow was still falling as the train went on through Beaufort West and other places on the high veld.

The Archbishop arrived at Grahamstown in the afternoon of August 9. Here he spent several excessively busy days. Every interval between the long and anxious meetings about the Ethiopian business was occupied in one way or another. He visited St. Peter's Home,¹ and the Diocesan School for Girls, and St. Andrew's College, giving an address to the students in each of the three, and he preached in the Cathedral on Sunday, August 12. Leaving on August 15 by train for the North, he reached Kroonstad in the afternoon of the following day, stayed there a night, and, starting again early

¹ The Mother House, and educational centre, of the Community of the Resurrection, a Sisterhood founded in 1883 by Dr. Webb, Bishop of Grahamstown.

in the morning, arrived at Ladysmith at 11.15 P.M. Next day the Rev. C. D. Robinson took him over Cæsar's Camp and Waggon Hill,¹ and showed him all the points of interest in connexion with the famous siege, including the cemeteries and the various monuments to the fallen. He preached in Ladysmith Church on Sunday, August 19, and on Monday drove out with Mr. Robinson to Nicholson's Nek, where a resident of Ladysmith, who had been taken prisoner with the men of the Gloucestershire Regiment and Irish Fusiliers, explained the circumstances of the disaster at this spot. On Tuesday he visited Intombi, which during the siege had been first the neutral camp, then a large hospital, and is now a great military cemetery. On Wednesday he went to see the Native Mission Church and School. He left Ladysmith by the morning train on August 23, and arrived at Dundee about mid-day, catching sight of the battlefields of Elandslaagte and Rietfontein as the train went by them. From Dundee railway station, where the Ven. C. Johnson, Archdeacon of Vryheid, met him, there was a long, hot, and tiring drive of six hours to St. Augustine's Mission, by a road which, immediately after leaving Dundee, runs close under the ridge of Talana.

At Vant's Drift on the Buffalo River, the boundary of the Zululand Diocese, the Bishop of Zululand, Dr. Vyvyan, and several of the European and of the Native Clergy, and a large concourse of native Christians had assembled to welcome him. They all saluted him with the cry of honour, "Bab'omkulu" ("Great Father"), and then knelt to receive his blessing, which was given, as the Bishop says, "with loving fervour." At St. Augustine's the Services of the next day, the Festival of St. Bartholomew, began with early Matins, followed by a Choral Eucharist in English at 8 A.M. with about 120 communicants. A short address by the Bishop was interpreted into Zulu, and "the singing," writes the Archbishop, "was most beautiful and entirely unaccompanied." "The Church," he adds, "is a fine, massive, severely rugged building, with great columns, and will hold about 2000."

From St. Augustine's the Archbishop went on to Isandhlwana.

¹ Named after the extraordinary clump of trees on the sky-line, which bears a wonderfully exact resemblance to a covered waggon, drawn by oxen, and just passing, as it were, down the dip, or "nek," on the summit.

"Before reaching the Mission," he says, "we passed the mountain, driving right underneath it. It is a rough hill with a great lion-like kopje, and at its foot is a small enclosed cemetery, and a number of round stone cairns scattered about, where the dead were buried just as they lay."

A large concourse awaited him at Isandhlwana; many hundreds of persons drawn up in two lines. In one line were the Clergy, the students of the College, the ladies of the Mission, and the Christian Natives, men and women, boys and girls. In the other line there was a great gathering of heathen who had also come to welcome him.

After giving him the same salutation as that given at Vant's Drift, they too, like the other welcomers there, knelt to receive his blessing.

"He then enquired," writes the Bishop of Zululand, "whether there were any present who on that fatal twenty-second of January 1879 had fought against the British troops on this battlefield, and twenty men stood forward. Speaking with the Rev. G. R. Terry as his interpreter, he said that he himself had known personally several of the officers killed on that day, but he was happy now in seeing the contrast between this time and that, and could assure them that the English were now their true friends."

On the Saturday he visited the cemetery, and the grave of his old friend, Dr. Douglas McKenzie, the second Bishop of Zululand; and on the Sunday he celebrated at 8 A.M. in the Bishop's little Oratory, and preached after Matins on the honour and dignity of the Christian calling, and the glorious change, which it involves, from darkness to light. He left on Monday for the Swedish Mission at Rorke's Drift, where he was received most kindly by Mr. Hellden, the Missionary, and by others, and was shown the scene of the famous defence by which the Zulus were repulsed, and the whole of Natal was saved from invasion. In this defence part of the very buildings which he now saw, had been utilized.

From Rorke's Drift he returned to St. Augustine's for St. Augustine's Day, August 28, the Patronal Festival. At 8.30 that morning a native Deacon from Isandhlwana College was ordained by the Bishop of Zululand. The Ordination Service was choral and the music excellent. The Archbishop



Photo Rev. F. G. Croom, M.A.

AT ISANDHLWANA IN 1906.

The Archbishop with the Rev. G. R. Terry, as interpreter, going to greet the natives, Christian and heathen, who have come to welcome him.



Photo Rev. F. G. Croom, M.A.

AT ISANDHLWANA IN 1906.

The Archbishop addressing Zulu warriors, survivors of the great battle in 1879.

preached the Sermon, which was interpreted into Zulu, from St. Paul's words, Philipp. iv. 4, " Rejoice in the Lord alway : and again I say, Rejoice." He wore cope and mitre at the Ordination itself, as also did the Bishop of Zululand.

After breakfast at 12.30, there was another long two hours' Service, nearly all musical, a thanksgiving for the restoration of peace after the recent disturbances in Zululand. The congregation at the first Service numbered about 1400 ; at the second 1900, including many heathen.

The offering of the alms was made in large basins at the entrance to the choir, the people coming out of their seats to make their gifts, and some of them pouring mealies (maize) into metal bins standing close by, which are a special feature at this Mission.

Luncheon followed in the schoolroom, and then a quiet afternoon and evening. The Archbishop met this day several of the Zululand Clergy, including the Ven. F. Roach, Archdeacon of Eshowe,¹ who interpreted for him, Canon W. M. Mercer who acted as his Chaplain, Canon R. B. Davies, the Rev. A. W. Lee, and one or two of the Native Clergy. Next day he celebrated for a few English people at St. Augustine's, and then departed on his return to Dundee. The Bishop of Zululand adds that he left £25 as a gift for each of the two Missions, Isandhlwana and St. Augustine's, and says :

His visit has been a great encouragement and pleasure to us all, and will be long remembered. His dignified and courteous manner, and his interest in all that he saw, and his kindness and friendliness to all whom he met, have left a fragrant memory behind.

At Dundee he visited the Church, and next day went to see the ridge of Talana, the cemetery beneath it, and the cairn, which marks the spot where General Penn Symons was mortally wounded. After this, he went on by train to Ladysmith, and thence, the day following, to Maritzburg, where he stayed from August 31 to September 7, was present at the opening of Synod on Sunday, September 2, in the Cathedral of St. Saviour, and preached the Synodical Sermon at Evensong. On other days he visited St. Anne's Diocesan School, and the Home belonging to the Community

¹ Assistant Bishop of Natal, 1913.

of the Sisters of St. John the Divine, a South African Sisterhood founded in 1887 in the Episcopate of Dr. Macrorie.

He spent three days at Durban with the Ven. E. A. Hammick, in whose Church of St. James, Stamford Hill, he preached on the Sunday, and from whose house he went over to see the Indian Mission at Sydenham.

Returning to Maritzburg on Tuesday, he began on September 12 his return journey westwards. At Creighton station he was met by the Rev. S. N. Bishop and Mr. John Cole. The latter took the Archbishop and Mrs. West Jones in his Cape cart to "Riverside," his father's house, where a very hospitable welcome awaited them, and next day drove on with them to Mr. F. Strachan's house, "Flitwick Grange," and the day following to Kokstad.

"Here we were welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. J. Elliot. He is a son of Sir H. Elliot, and an old Diocesan College boy. Kokstad is a pretty town, adorned with many oaks and willows, clothed now in their fresh and early green. Rain began just as we arrived, but stopped after an hour. The country is thirsting for rain. All is brown, and bare, and burned."

At Kokstad he found Dr. Campbell, Bishop of Glasgow, who had come on a "revisit" of the "Mission of Help." On Sunday, September 26, the Archbishop celebrated and preached in the morning, and the Bishop preached at Evensong. There was a social gathering in the Town Hall on Monday, at which several Wesleyan Ministers were present, and one of them was amongst the speakers.

The Archbishop left Kokstad on Wednesday, and arrived at Mount Ayliff that afternoon. On the Thursday he had hoped to reach Mount Frere; but the rain was so heavy that it was impossible to get farther than "Sugar Bush," Mr. Dickenson's house, where he had to stay for the night. On Friday he arrived at Mount Frere at 11 A.M., and at Tsitsa at 5 P.M. At the latter place he found the Bishop of St. John's waiting for him. On Saturday they went on to Tsolo, and thence to St. Cuthbert's Mission. On Sunday the Archbishop preached, with the Rev. J. J. Xaba as his interpreter, at the early Choral Eucharist, "a beautiful Service in a very noble Church." Departing from St. Cuthbert's about 11 A.M., after a farewell address, and a poem in Kafir sung in



Photo W. Watson Robertson, Maritzburg.

THE ARCHBISHOP AT MARITZBURG IN 1906.

his honour by a large crowd of native people, he drove to Umtata, between thirty and forty miles distant, arriving at 5.30 P.M. He preached at the 7 P.M. Evensong in St. James' Church, an unconsecrated building which was to cease to be used as a Church, as soon as the new and beautiful Cathedral should have been consecrated. "I preached on the subject," he wrote, "but very feebly. I was very tired."

On Monday he left with Mrs. West Jones by Cape cart, and, staying one night near Mlengana, reached Port St. John's on Tuesday. The drive through the pass reminded him much of the fine scenery in the districts of George and Knysna, but the last part of it, along the river and between the splendid wooded precipices, which form the "Gates of St. John's," he thought finer than anything he had seen elsewhere in the Colony. Thursday was spent in a most delightful picnic expedition 16 miles up St. John's River in a steam launch. Near the sea the stream is 200 to 300 yards broad, and flows between a long series of rocky kopjes that much resemble the famous castle-crowned crags of the Rhine.

It was a great pleasure to the Archbishop to find at Port St. John's two or three persons whom he had confirmed in or near Capetown some thirty years before, in the early days of his Episcopate. "His children he called us," said one of them six years later: and it was, indeed, with nothing less than the affectionate feeling of a father, that he regarded those whom he thus met again after the lapse of so many years. The return journey to Umtata was accomplished on Friday and Saturday, a night being again spent near Mlengana.

Sunday, September 30, was the long-expected day of the Consecration of St. John's Cathedral Church, Umtata, the memorial to Bransby Lewis Key, second Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria. The Cathedral was, of course, crowded at the Consecration Service, which began at 9.30 A.M., and followed the special form authorized in this Diocese and in the Diocese of Capetown. All the three Bishops present—the Archbishop, the Bishop of St. John's, and the Bishop of Glasgow—wore cope and mitre. The Bishop of St. John's, as Bishop of the Diocese, was the Consecrator, and the Archbishop preached the sermon from 1 Kings vi. 7, which he applied

to the fashioning and growth of the Catholic Church, and of each member of it, under the silent operation of the Holy Spirit of God. The Bishop of Glasgow had come with a special message of congratulation from the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, and Dublin, and from the Primus of Scotland, and bringing a noble gift of £1100 from the Scottish Church, as a contribution to the building of the Cathedral. Immediately after the sermon, he left his place in the sanctuary, and advancing to the throne of the Bishop of the Diocese on the south side of the chancel, there publicly delivered the message with which he had been charged, and then knelt down, and kissed the hand of his brother Bishop, adding thus a distinctive and beautiful ceremony to the solemnities of this memorable day. At the early Festal Evensong in Si-Xosa in the Cathedral at 3 o'clock the Archbishop preached to a large congregation of Natives on Jacob's vision at Bethel and the ministration of Angels, and at the second Evensong, in English, at 7 P.M., the Bishop of Glasgow was the special preacher. At the conclusion of this Service, the *Te Deum* was sung, and after a solemn Procession with the hymn "At the Name of Jesus every knee shall bow," the Archbishop gave the final blessing. £220 was collected for the Cathedral on the day of the Consecration.

Special Services were held throughout the Octave, and on Monday evening at a conversazione in the Court-house the Bishop of St. John's announced that a debt of £1500 still remained upon the Cathedral, but that he was in a position to offer £100, if fourteen other persons, or sets of persons, would do the same. The Archbishop, who was the next speaker, took up the Bishop's challenge, promising to be himself one of these fourteen and to give £100. A report of this meeting says that the Archbishop's voice in his sermons and speeches "rings out so clear and strong that it is difficult for a listener to believe that the speaker is the venerable Prelate, who now for thirty-two years has borne the burden of the Episcopate." The Bishop of Glasgow also made a racy and vigorous speech.

Before he left Umtata the Archbishop transacted a good deal of Provincial work with the other Bishops, and visited

St. John's and St. Bede's Colleges and St. Margaret's School, and went once more to the magnificent cascade on the Umtata River, which he had first seen twenty-three years ago.

On the evening of October 5, after his departure from Umtata, he was most hospitably received at the house of the Moravian Bishop. The next afternoon, Saturday, he reached All Saints' Mission, Engcobo, and there spent Sunday morning, celebrating early in English, and preaching, through an interpreter, at Matins at 9.30. He went on in the afternoon to Engcobo itself for Evensong, and remained there that night and the two following days also ; for the rain made it absolutely unsafe to travel. On Wednesday he was able, but only with great difficulty, to reach Elliot on the railway line, and on Friday at mid-day he arrived at Queensstown. Here he remained, busy meanwhile with the framing of the Constitution of the Order of Ethiopia, until Monday, October 15, and thence reached Capetown and Bishopscourt in the afternoon of October 17, after an absence of exactly ten weeks.

CHAPTER LXI

Capetown New Cathedral—History of the Old Cathedral and of the long-continued efforts to build the New Cathedral—Description of the New Cathedral.

JUST about the time of the Archbishop's return from this long journey, the tender of Messrs. A. B. Reid & Co. for the first portion of the superstructure of the Capetown New Cathedral was accepted by the Cathedral Building Committee. It was the lowest of fourteen such tenders, and the Committee were considered fortunate in securing such good terms as were offered.

The following historical and descriptive account will show how necessary a new building was, how the plan for it had developed, and how long the project, so dear to the Archbishop's heart, had been delayed.

The first Church of St. George, Capetown, was begun April 23, 1830, the foundations being laid upon a site consecrated nearly three years earlier, October 23, 1827, by Dr. James, Bishop of Calcutta. This building was opened for Divine Service on December 21, 1834. After the arrival of the first Bishop of Capetown, February 20, 1848, it became his Cathedral Church, and he succeeded in effecting some very desirable improvements in its internal arrangements, and consecrated it on August 28, 1851. The axis of the old Cathedral is north and south. Architecturally the building may be described as consisting of plastered brickwork, with lintelled openings and a flat-pitched plastered roof, like a public hall. Such a Church had no special beauty or attractiveness, and in 1887 the Capetown Diocesan Synod passed a resolution that the time had now come to begin the construction of

one more worthy to be the Metropolitan Cathedral of South Africa. A Standing Committee was appointed by the Synod to collect funds; but the failure of two Cape-town banks in 1890, and the pressing necessity of raising money to build the new All Saints' Home, and to provide the income for a Coadjutor Bishopric, prevented any considerable advance being made until 1897. In that year the Standing Committee was strengthened; difficulties connected with the use of the site were overcome; a Cathedral Building Fund was fully organized; and a design for the new Cathedral by Mr. Herbert Baker, F.R.I.B.A., was adopted,¹ on the strong and unanimous recommendation of several distinguished architects in England, who had been asked to undertake the work themselves, but who, for one reason or another, had felt obliged to decline.

It was arranged that the new Cathedral should be built east and west, and that its easternmost portion should be constructed first, occupying the ground to the left, or eastern, side of the old Cathedral. On part of that ground the Cathedral Grammar School was then standing, and this school, which was of no great size and dated from 1858, had, therefore, to be pulled down, and was rebuilt, in a much improved form, on an adjoining piece of the same land. This preliminary work was accomplished, and the new St. George's Cathedral Grammar School was opened, as already related, on April 13, 1904.

Meanwhile the buttress-stone, now included in the easternmost external part of the apse of the new Cathedral itself, had been laid by his present Majesty, King George V., then Duke of Cornwall and York, on August 22, 1901. The concrete foundations, which stand on solid rock at an average depth of 12 feet below the ground level, and the substructure of the new Cathedral, including the crypt, could not be taken in hand until 1904, and after their completion, building operations were again suspended till November 13, 1906. On that day a special Service was held in the crypt, as a thanksgiving for the recommencement of the work, and as a supplication for God's Blessing upon its further progress.

¹ The working out of this design, during the actual construction, was chiefly done by Mr. Baker's partner, the late Mr. Francis Masey, F.R.I.B.A.

The superstructure, which was then begun, consisted of two parts, as did also the foundations already laid.

(i.) *The War Memorial*, viz. Sanctuary, Choir, South Chapel (or Choir Aisle, as it was at first called), and Organ loft.

The original intention had been to include also the North Chapel, but the cost would have been too great, and the chapel was therefore omitted. Funds for the War Memorial were raised chiefly in England, though a considerable sum, about £4000, came from South Africa, and were administered by a Committee in England, organized in 1901.

(ii.) *The part westward of the War Memorial*, viz. the lofty Intersection, of which the transepts will be the wings, a piece of the South Transept itself, the Sacristy, and the first four bays of the Nave,¹ which bring the Nave of the new building as far as the side wall of the old Cathedral.

Funds for this part were raised chiefly in South Africa, but a great many friends in England contributed most generously towards it.

The Archbishop had the satisfaction of living to see the work at last going steadily forward, in spite of countless checks and difficulties. Before he sailed for England in March 1908, the eastern part of the new Cathedral had been carried up to the roof, and was practically complete, surpassing his highest hopes in the dignity of its architecture and in the beauty of the many coloured tints of its Table Mountain stone.

In style the new Cathedral follows the general lines of the best type of French Gothic churches of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The hard sandstone from Table Mountain used for the outer substance of the walls varies from grey and rich light yellow to light and dark red, and is used in large blocks with a rough surface, and the red of the English tiles on the roof harmonizes excellently with it. The same stone is employed for the piers, arches, and general fabric within, but here with a punched face, sufficiently smooth to define details of tracery, etc., without robbing the stone of its natural rugged beauty.

¹ Only one of these bays, however, could be carried up, as yet, to the full height, and a temporary iron roof at a lower level had to be placed over the nave westward of the intersection or crossing.

For the "filling in" surfaces of the interior, and for the interspaces of the groining of the sanctuary and of the South Chapel, the soft, light, and easily worked Omaru stone from New Zealand has been successfully employed.

Though the hardness of the mountain stone and the very great cost of labour in South Africa have made impossible any large amount of sculpture or carving throughout the Cathedral, yet the tracery of the windows is of special beauty, and is so designed that no two windows are exactly alike.

The high altar is of massive black marble, inlaid with five crosses made with pieces of coloured mosaic brought from Jerusalem. The sanctuary, choir, and choir aisle are paved with blue, white, green, red, and black marbles, much artistic skill having been exercised with good effect in the diversification of the arrangement and in the distribution of the colouring; and a fine flight of marble steps leads up from the nave to the level of the choir.

When complete, the Cathedral will have a stately central tower, standing in the middle of the north or seaward side, and occupying the same position as the tower of the old Cathedral at the head of St. George's Street; and the building itself will extend from Government Avenue on the east to Queen Victoria Street on the west.¹

As Zanzibar Cathedral in Central East Africa stands on the site of the old Slave-Market of Zanzibar; so upon two-thirds of that long strip of ground on the south side of Wale Street which was once occupied by the Old Slave-Lodge of Capetown—the other third being now enclosed in the grounds of Parliament House—will stand, by a strange and happy coincidence, the new Cathedral of Capetown, the Metropolitan Cathedral of South Africa.

¹ Reckoned in feet, the internal dimensions of the whole Cathedral, when finally completed, will be:—

Total length of sanctuary, chancel, and nave, east to west, 262; transepts, north to south, 95; breadth of nave 27, of aisles $18\frac{1}{2}$; height of nave and transepts 69, of choir $60\frac{1}{2}$.

Archbishop's Memorial Chapel: length 60, breadth 30. For an account of this Chapel, i.e. the North Chapel, once included in the War Memorial, see Chap. LXV.

Chapter House: length 54, breadth 34.

Outside, the ridge of the nave is $85\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground; and the tower will measure on each of its four sides 30 feet, and will be 210 feet high.

The total cost of the part already built, including £9200 expended on the Cathedral Grammar School, has been about £63,000. It was dedicated September 26, 1913. The fine organ, valued at £3000, and formerly in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, contains some of the work of the celebrated Father Smith, and is the gift of Mr. W. H. Baxter of Leeds.

CHAPTER LXII

Christmas at Bishopscourt in 1906, and other years—The Archbishop's annual holiday at Kalk Bay—His health markedly failing in 1907—Visitation of Mossel Bay, George, and Knysna—Consecration of St. Peter's, Mossel Bay, June 2, 1907—Two reminiscences of this last visit to Knysna and Mossel Bay—Accident on the way to Robben Island—A rough crossing and landing impossible—A fortnight within doors—Fourteenth Synod of Capetown Diocese, October 1907—Diocesan work resumed—A wedding at Claremont Church.

CHRISTMAS EVE, 1906, was accompanied by a storm of extraordinarily heavy rain from the south-east, a very rare thing at this time of the year. Between 8 P.M. on December 23 and 4.30 P.M. on December 24, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches of rain had fallen at Bishopscourt. The waterfall on the face of the mountain above was glorious, and the Liesbeek was running deep and foaming, with a mighty roar of its waters and a pounding and grinding of the great stones beneath, as they were rolled along by the force of the swollen stream.

Of this Christmastide, and of others like it, a friend writes :

I shall never cease to be grateful that I was allowed to spend more than one Christmas at Bishopscourt, where Christmas was always peculiarly beautiful.

December was invariably an excessively busy month for the Archbishop and Mrs. West Jones ; but when Christmas came, all cares and anxieties were put aside, and nothing seemed to be thought of but what would contribute to the happiness of the guests within the house and the cottagers on the estate. On Christmas Eve the carol-singers would come, and a pretty picture they made, as we saw them from the front door, with their Chinese lanterns swinging on poles and half the population of the little village of Protea massed behind them.

On the Festival itself we made our Christmas Communion in

the Chapel in the house or else in the little Church in the pine-woods, and, after breakfast, packed ourselves into the waggonette, and drove to Claremont or Newlands, to catch the train to Capetown ; for the Archbishop was always celebrant and preacher that day in the Cathedral.

We did not sit down to our Christmas dinner till half-past two. But the Archbishop, though often terribly tired, would never let this interfere with our happiness. He was himself the life and soul of the party, teasing each in turn with a real boyishness and sweetness which set us all at ease, and made even home-sick ones forget how far away they were from England.

A Festal Evensong in the little Church of the Good Shepherd or in the Chapel in the house, and carols in the drawing-room later in the evening, and much happy conversation, brought to an end a day on which everyone had felt something of the meaning of the Christmas message of Glory to God in Heaven and Peace and Goodwill upon earth.

Next morning hundreds of picnic parties filled the field across the brook. Carts began to arrive very early. Bands and concertinas were playing, and small drums were energetically thumped all day long, and the joyous murmur of at least 1500 voices was plainly heard, like the busy hum of a great hive of bees. There was much dancing and singing too, and good-natured, quiet fun ; for the people were thankful to get away from the dust and heat of Capetown, and to enjoy themselves, whole families together, in the pleasant shade and cool breezes under the oaks and pines.

The Archbishop on this and subsequent days generally took a party of guests with him, and went off to see the cricket at Newlands, and a holiday of this kind I believe he enjoyed more than anything else. Sometimes, again, when he had an interval free from work, he would read to us on the lawn, or walk with us round the garden, admiring those glorious masses of colour, roses, hydrangeas, and foxgloves, or whatever else there might be, and the grandeur of the mountain precipices above the line of firs. I think he loved every corner of the garden. He used to delight to show it to strangers, and to watch the expression on their faces as they looked at his special plants or caught sight of his favourite views. In the evenings, when his work was over, we had music, or else bagatelle in the library, a game in which he and Mrs. West Jones sometimes joined, and great fun it was.

In these later years the Archbishop usually spent a month or six weeks in February and March at the seaside in his own cottage, called "The Homestead," at St. James's, in the parish of Kalk Bay. This simple, unpretentious little building, with its white-washed walls, green wooden shutters,

and gabled roof of thatch, is as picturesque as it is homely. Immediately behind it rises steep mountainous ground, strewn with granite boulders, and covered with bushes of protea and myrtle, and a veritable jungle of parasitic plants, flowering shrubs, splendid heaths, and wild bulbous plants with gorgeously-tinted blossoms. Between the house and the sea is a strip of land some 40 to 50 feet long, which ends in a dwarf wall fronting the road, and is fringed by a hedge of red-flowering aloes. Beyond this road is a narrow piece of waste ground ; then the railway, a single line of metals on a tiny embankment, the stones of which are washed by the highest tides ; and then there is the sandy shore itself with its boulders and rocks.

From the raised pavement, known at the Cape as a "stoep," outside the front door of the house, the view eastwards straight across the Bay is perfectly glorious. It is bounded by the long range of rugged mountains stretching due south and terminating in Cape Hangklip, a precipitous headland, behind which lies the iron-bound coast famous for the wreck of the *Birkenhead* more than sixty years ago.

Sunrise over these mountains on a fine day is extraordinarily magnificent. The summits are dyed a rosy red, like Alpine peaks at the dawn ; and the small clouds float above in long gleaming shoals of red, and gold, and opal. Just before the rim of the sun shows itself, two great rays of light strike upwards, as if here "the wings of the morning" were indeed outspread. Meanwhile, beneath the range itself, "the uttermost parts of the sea" are as smooth and tranquil as a lake, and vary in colour from rich red and purple to an indigo darkness. Then up comes the glowing orb of the sun ; and all day long a vast expanse of water of the deepest blue glitters beneath an azure sky. Snow-white gulls soar up, and then folding their wings drop, as with the rush of a falling stone, with a sudden splash into the sea. Now and then hordes of black cormorants, or "duikers," fly past, in long-drawn-out procession, hundreds and even thousands strong, and flapping steadily on, in a seemingly endless line, pass from one point of the coast to another. Or when the sea is very calm, you may see them settle down in lively swarms, wherever they have discovered

the small fry on which they feed, and rock lazily to and fro, balancing themselves, as it were, on the rise and fall of the gentle swell that sets towards the coast.

To the left are the pure white sands of Muizenberg, where the great rollers with streaming crests of foam sweep ceaselessly in upon the shore. To the right the wide mouth of Simon's Bay opens out towards the Southern Pole, with Hangklip guarding it on one side and Cape Point on the other. The Point can be just discerned in the far distance in the daytime, and its revolving light is conspicuous after nightfall. Somewhat nearer, on the same side, is the fine triple-headed mountain called "The Three Sisters"; then the flatter headland known as Miller's Point; then the bold mountain above Simonstown; and then, in the deep indentation of the coast, Simonstown itself, with its lighthouse on the "Roman rock," and its warships in the harbour. And so the eye travels round to Kalk Bay, to the numerous houses lining the narrow shore beneath the mountain ridge, and to the two or three whitewashed, thatch-roofed cottages on a tiny promontory jutting out picturesquely into the sea, where the fishing-boats pass out, as they start to their long night's work, or race each other back again in the morning, dancing joyously over the waves with a good haul of fish.

"Amid surroundings such as these," says the friend who has been already quoted, "the conventional gaiters would be shed, and the Archbishop would prepare himself in his clothes and in his spirits for a real holiday and change. For the first few weeks he would try to keep free from engagements and correspondence. But it was not very easily done. His retreat was too near Capetown and too readily discovered. Some at least of his cares and anxieties were bound to follow him, and every morning would still be filled up with the answering of letters. Yet he contrived to get a good deal of rest, and would read happily on the stoep in the afternoons, or take a stroll along the shore, or sit and enjoy the glory of the waves, as the mass of clear sparkling water came rushing up and tossed itself foaming on some projecting rocks.

"One great amusement of his was to buy fish from the carts as they drove past the house. At the sound of the fish-horn, he would jump up, and run down bare-headed to the road, the cook following with a dish, and the cats and dogs in attendance behind her.

"In the evenings he would read aloud to us from some cheerful novel, almost always one of Sir Walter Scott's. But I remember

how thrilled we were by the *Scarlet Pimpernel*, and how the Archbishop would look ahead, as he said, 'to count the pages,' but also, as we shrewdly suspected, to see the end of some exciting incident in the book.

"These were, indeed, happy days at Kalk Bay. Mrs. West Jones used to find time to sketch, and the Archbishop would take a paper or book, and read near her on the beach; and every day he would look fresher and less weary, though in the last year, 1907, after an anxious and tiring Episcopal Synod at Bishops court, he suffered much from neuritis and neuralgia. There were many anxieties at this time, and his frail form was feeling the heavy strain."

But if his annual visits to Kalk Bay were so refreshing to the Archbishop himself, they were also, as the Archdeacon of the Cape, the Ven. R. Brooke, has repeatedly said, not without their good influence on the people of the place.

"We always felt the better," he writes, "for the Archbishop's stay amongst us. It seemed to quicken the spiritual life of the parish, and the regularity with which he attended the Services was not without effect. And though, as Rector, I purposely abstained from asking him to take any part in the public ministrations, he always insisted on celebrating at least once during his visit, and on preaching occasionally. His last sermon in the parish will never be forgotten by some amongst us. It was a powerful exposition of the greatness of faith, and was delivered with unusual energy, making a deep and lasting impression on me, as no doubt it did also upon others."

The Archdeacon adds that the Archbishop, soon after he had purchased the "Homestead," wrote to the Churchwardens, informing them of the fact that he was now a landed proprietor in the parish, and saying that, being such, he felt he ought to contribute annually to the Pastoral Fund. He enclosed a cheque for £10, which he promised to make a yearly subscription. His example was followed by several other property holders, who, like the Archbishop, were only occasionally resident in the parish, and some of these did not belong to the Church. Two of the most generous donors have since gone to their rest, but the others still contribute regularly year by year.

On the evening of May 30, 1907, the Archbishop left for a long visitation in the parishes of Mossel Bay, George, and Knysna. In the afternoon of that day he was obviously

ill and unfit for such a great railway journey, and his Chaplain offered to go with him. The Archbishop, after some consideration, declined the proposal ; but the serious condition of his health had so deeply impressed his Chaplain that, as soon as the Archbishop had started, he sat down and wrote to the Bishop of St. John's, begging him to offer to take the visitation of Malmesbury parish in September, and so save the Archbishop that amount of rough cart-travelling just before the Capetown Diocesan Synod in October. The Bishop of St. John's kindly made the offer suggested, which the Archbishop most gratefully accepted.

Meanwhile, ill as he was, he yet managed to go through all that he had planned out for this particular round, beginning with the consecration of the new Church of St. Peter, at Mossel Bay, on June 2, and including all the usual routine, and the visitation of the principal out-stations of three large parishes. Here and there he was able to secure a day or two of quiet and rest, and he thoroughly enjoyed meeting once more his many friends in this part of the Diocese ; though both he and they knew that this meeting might well be the last.

Mrs. Duthie, widow of Mr. A. H. Duthie of Belvidere, in Knysna parish, writes :

The Archbishop, after a kindly and solemn walk and talk with my youngest son, who has since gone to Wells Theological College, made him get into the carriage first to drive round with him to Knysna, and then, stepping in himself, in a very special way, as I stood by to wish him farewell, he gave me his blessing. And so he parted from us.

Another lady, whose own health has always been far from strong, and who knew him intimately, writing of his last visit to Mossel Bay, says :

The dear Archbishop was always intensely kind to me. I remember how, just before I went from South Africa to school in England, when I was only eight years old, he picked me up and put me on his shoulder, telling me, "School wouldn't be so bad." He saw I was very near tears. And then, after I left school, and came out to South Africa, he seemed to understand that life was not easy to me. But he let me talk to him, and that helped me. I was confirmed by him, and so were two of my sisters. Whenever

we met, his very smile seemed to put into me fresh courage and confidence. He always inspired the feeling that he wished me to gather up the threads of my life, to make the very best of everything, and to keep up a brave happy heart. In his nature there was nothing small or petty. He stood out so strong, and yet always so calm. And he had the gift of an understanding heart, and such a power of tenderness.

The dearest memory-pictures I have of him are at Kalk Bay, and of going with him on Sundays to the early Celebrations. He used to look up at our house from the road, to see whether I was coming; and his consideration and thoughtfulness for me, as he knew I was not strong, were so great. Somehow on those early mornings the sea and the mountains always seemed more exquisitely beautiful.

The last time I saw him was at Mossel Bay. He was ill then, and so weary. He came to see us just before he went away, and asked me to walk back with him. As we walked, he spoke of the greatest things in life, and of the future beyond. But, through it all, he was so weary. As we went, we kept standing still to look across the Bay at the mountains. When he spoke to me of myself, a whole world of tenderness and sympathy seemed to come out, and he gave me, as a sort of parting blessing, the two last verses of Psalm xxvii.¹ Tired as he was, he was bent on going to the Mission School. He always had been there: he must go again. And first he went up to the Infant School. The many steps seemed to try him, and I laughingly said, "Call the little ragamuffins out here, and don't walk up any more steps." His laugh, in reply, rang out so cheerily. I never saw him again.

The Archbishop returned home from this visitation on July 13. He looked very ill, after a long and tiring journey, and a sleepless night in a train crowded with boys and girls going back to school after the holidays. The doctor ordered him to remain in bed for the next few days; but he dictated letters, transacted business, and by the end of August, always a fairly easy month, had tolerably recovered his strength.

Amongst his plans for September was a visit to Robben Island on Saturday the 21st, St. Matthew's Day, and there he proposed to stay till Monday, confirming and preaching as usual. But, on the way to the Capetown Docks, his cab-horse fell, and he was thrown violently against the forepart of the cab, and his right shoulder was somewhat severely

¹ "I should utterly have fainted: but that I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.

"O tarry thou the Lord's leisure: be strong, and He shall comfort thine heart; and put thou thy trust in the Lord."

strained. The voyage across in the little steam-tug was a moderately good one, until just the end, when the south-east wind suddenly freshened, and the sea rose in huge waves, which swept across the Bay and hurled themselves on the coast of the Island. After several attempts to land passengers on the Robben Island jetty—attempts so nearly successful that the Archbishop's baggage was actually handed up and taken ashore—he and his fellow-passengers had to return to the tug, which put back to Capetown. There followed what he described as “the worst tossing” he had ever had. The little vessel rolled to and fro in the trough of the waves, and the effort of holding to the bulwarks made his injured shoulder much worse. He arrived at Bishopscourt thoroughly done up, and had to remain in bed two days, and then to send for the doctor, who prescribed complete rest and the cancelling of all engagements. So for a fortnight he was confined to the house, only leaving it for the first time on October 4 for an important business meeting in Capetown relating to the future of the Diocesan College.

Still he was able to preside at the Clerical Synod on October 11, and at the Fourteenth Synod of the Diocese of Capetown, which opened on the 12th and lasted till the 22nd; though at the evening sittings, which the doctor had peremptorily forbidden him to attend, the Bishop Coadjutor presided in his stead. Yet all through, he was suffering a good deal from his injured shoulder; and the very putting on of his robes for Synod was difficult and painful, even with the help of his Chaplain.

A week's holiday in the middle of November, several short visitations in parishes not very far distant, and the usual Confirmations in the Cape Peninsula, fairly filled up the remainder of the year.

In January 1908 Miss Alena Coope was married from Bishopscourt, where she had been staying for more than two years.

“Nothing,” she writes, “can efface the memory of the wonderful love and kindness I received from the Archbishop and Mrs. West Jones. My own father and mother, whom I had left in England, could not have shown me more affectionate tenderness. On the morning of the wedding day the Archbishop came to me, not as my

Archbishop, or as my Priest, nor even as my Father in God, but as if he were simply a friend coming to a friend ; and, as such, he told me of what he had always felt to be the essential things which make up the happiness of married life. And the wise advice then given has guided me ever since. It was only four months before his death, and he was very tired and very anxious about several important matters. But everything was most carefully arranged, so that I might have, what indeed I had, the most beautiful and most happy day of all my life.

"I only saw the Archbishop for a few hours after that day ; but indelibly impressed on my mind is the beauty of the expression of his face, as I saw it then, when my husband and I drove away together from our wedding reception at Claremont Rectory.

"With the natural dignity which prevented anyone from forgetting that he was the Archbishop, there was blended such a wonderful sweetness and intuitive sympathy, that it seemed possible to tell him anything without fear of being in the least misunderstood. And his advice would be given so simply and gently, and yet so directly, that you felt shamed out of all selfish motives, and anxious to start afresh on better lines, and delighted to discover that you had in him not only a most just and far-seeing friend, but also a kind and affectionate father."¹

¹ With what is said here may be compared a very charming letter written by the Archbishop eight years earlier, on hearing of the engagement of another young friend, who was a special favourite of his, and much devoted to him.

"MY DEAR —,—I do wish you all joy and happiness from the very depths of my heart. I wish I knew Mr. X. I shall expect him to be *very good indeed*, if I am to be contented with your engagement, but I do not think you would have consented, if he had not been ; so I shall expect great things when I meet your beloved. Well, dear child, I can only say that I pray that God's very great blessings may rest on your choice, and that your wedded life may be full of peace and comfort. I should like to see you to say this to you, instead of only writing it.

"You must not be cross with me for so long delaying to answer your letter, and to rejoice with you in your good news. I am away from home, and your letter has only been in my hands about an hour or two. I do not know why you should not be married in July, and I think Mr. X.'s reasons are good ones. Of course I assume, in saying this, that you feel quite sure of yourself and of him. Perhaps I may visit you in your new home before long, if you are indeed to be married in July, as I expect to be in —town towards the end of August. It will be very delightful to *see* your happiness.

"Good-bye, my dear child. May God bless and keep both of you, and give you a large supply of joy and happiness, and grace to help each other on in the right way.—Believe me, my dear —, your very affectionate friend and father in Christ, W. W. CAPETOWN."

CHAPTER LXIII

The Constitutional Question once more, 1907 : St. John's, Wynberg, and the Church of the Province—Plumstead petitions for admission to the Church of the Province—Two important meetings of Wynberg Communicants—Plumstead proclaimed a Parish, January 1908.

AND here it is necessary to return once more to a final phase of the old Constitutional Struggle, the main part of which has been sufficiently described in Chapters XXV. to XXXV. inclusive.

In the Thirteenth Capetown Diocesan Synod, in 1905, a conciliatory Resolution was moved, inviting the three so-called "Church of England" Congregations in the Diocese to enter the unity of the Church of the Province, and assuring them of a brotherly welcome. This Resolution, which was warmly supported by the Archbishop himself and by both the Archdeacons, was carried unanimously. It ran as follows :

That this Synod, in view of the happy co-operation of all parishes in this Diocese in the late Mission of Help, desires, without entering into discussion of details, to express to the Clergy and the Congregations of the English Church worshipping at the Churches of St. John's, Wynberg ; St. Peter's, Mowbray ; and Holy Trinity, Capetown—its earnest desire and hope that they may be led to enter into corporate union with the Church of the Province of South Africa ; and to assure them that their adhesion to the Constitution of the Province would be most cordially welcomed.

Two of the three Congregations did not see their way to take any action. But long negotiations ensued between the Archbishop on the one side, and the Rector and representatives of the parish of Wynberg on the other, which resulted

in the preparation of a draft agreement, or concordat, in which it was proposed—

1. That the Church of the Province should guarantee :

(a) That nothing should be required in the conduct of the Services in St. John's Church, Wynberg, or in the other Churches in charge of the Incumbent of St. John's, which could not be required in the Church of England as by law established.¹

(b) That no statement of doctrine should be required of the Clergy ministering in this Parish which could not be required of them if ministering in the Church of England as by law established.¹

2. That the Synod of the Capetown Diocese should constitute a Board of Patronage to fill any vacancy in the incumbency of Wynberg, such Board to consist of :

(a) The Archbishop, or his Vicar-General.

(b) The Archdeacon of the Cape, or some one nominated by the Archbishop or the Synod.

(c) Three Laymen to be elected from time to time, as vacancies might occur, by the Vestry of St. John's, Wynberg, and holding office for five years.²

3. It was further provided in this document :

(a) That no appointment should be made without the concurrence of four out of the five members of the Board of Patronage.

(b) That the Board of Patronage might entrust the appointment to delegates in England, chosen by the Archbishop or Vicar-General on the one hand, and by representatives of the Vestry on the other.

(c) That the Trusts on St. John's Church, Wynberg, should not be affected by this agreement, which should also be taken to include other places of worship in charge of the Incumbent of St. John's.

(d) That should either the Provincial or the Diocesan Synod depart from the above conditions, the agreement should forthwith terminate, and things should revert to the *status quo ante*.

At a meeting of the parishioners of Wynberg on May 3, 1907, which had been duly convened after ample notice, the

¹ The Seventh Provincial Synod in 1909 passed a Resolution which gives both these guarantees to St. John's, Wynberg, and to "other parishes under similar trusts." See Resolution No. 12, p. 26, in *Acts and Resolutions of Seventh Provincial Synod (1909)*.

² A proposal which would have constituted such a Board in any parish which maintained its own Clergy without Diocesan assistance, was rejected in the Fourteenth Capetown Diocesan Synod in 1907. The Synod was evidently under a misapprehension as to the intention and effect of the proposal, in which Wynberg was not mentioned by name. The Archbishop was deeply disappointed, because the defeat of the proposal meant the failure of this attempt to secure more perfect union between each of three parishes, Wynberg included, and the Church of the Province.

acceptance of the above agreement was moved. After the rejection of an amendment, the motion for acceptance was carried by 63 votes to 49, 30 women voting in the majority and 19 in the minority. Though there was thus a majority in favour of joining the Church of the Province, it was not considered desirable to act upon the Resolution, until the parish should be more nearly of one mind and consent upon the matter.

But another result followed. The people of Plumstead, a large and rapidly increasing district of the parish of Wynberg, had been very anxious that the whole parish should join the Church of the Province; and when there appeared to be no longer any immediate prospect of such union, they presented a largely-signed petition to the Archbishop, praying him to constitute the district of Plumstead a separate parish in full union with the Church of the Province, and guaranteeing that, if this should be done, they would support their own Clergyman, and build a Church for themselves. On the other hand, they declared that, if they should be still denied the greater freedom, which union with the Church of the Province would bring them, they would do no more than the minimum which they were doing at present, viz. the raising of £50 towards the general funds of the Parish Church of St. John's, Wynberg.

The Archbishop, after receiving this formal appeal, thought that the petitioners had shown at least a *prima facie* case, and were entitled to be heard; and his Chapter agreed with him in this view. But he also desired to be more fully informed of the feeling both of the Plumstead district itself, and of the parish of Wynberg in general. Accordingly he asked for a meeting of the Communicants of the whole parish, which was arranged for the evening of December 18, in Ottery Road School, near Wynberg railway station.

The Archbishop, in his opening speech, said that no resolutions would be moved and no vote taken; for he had summoned the meeting simply for the purpose of ascertaining the mind of the parish in reference to the division for which the petitioners were asking. If such a division should be decided upon, he said the question would immediately arise, by what process it could be done; for the

Canons of the Church of the Province would not apply, and South Africa was outside the sphere of those bodies, who in England, under Church of England law, had to be consulted.

He then stated several of the arguments which had been alleged for and against division. Some fourteen other persons joined in the debate, and the discussion turned very largely on the question of finance ; those who advocated the division contending that the separation of Plumstead would be an actual financial relief to the parish of Wynberg ; those who opposed it, that the result would be a serious loss to the parochial funds.

In closing the meeting, the Archbishop expressed his great thankfulness that, though the speeches had been perfectly candid and outspoken on both sides, there had been an entire absence of any bitterness ; and he said that if, after considering what he had heard, he should determine upon the division of the parish, he would be careful to secure the best legal advice on the manner in which it should be done.

A second meeting on the same subject was held in Wynberg Town Hall more than a month later, in the evening of January 27, 1908. This second meeting was thought desirable, because some important persons had been unavoidably prevented from attending the first, and it was claimed that they ought to have a chance of saying what they had to say. Notice of this meeting, like that of the former, was read on three successive Sundays in all Churches and Chapels in the parish, and placarded on the doors.

The Archbishop, when he arrived on the night of the meeting, was looking exceedingly ill, and his voice was so hoarse, that at first it appeared very doubtful whether he would be able to speak a single audible word. But, in spite of these difficulties, he made himself heard ; and all present listened with deep attention.

After prayer, and after reading the notice which had convened the meeting, he said that the question was a simple one, namely whether Plumstead should, or should not, be formed into a separate parish. Since December 18 he had obtained legal advice upon the matter. But the Churchwardens of Wynberg had written to say that they thought

he would be over-straining his rights, if he should proceed without giving the whole parish another opportunity of declaring its mind. Therefore this second meeting had been summoned.

Any contention that it was wholly unlawful to divide Wynberg was refuted by the precedent of Constantia, which had been separated from Wynberg some years ago.

But under what law could a division take place? Not under the law of the Church of the Province; for Wynberg rejected that. Was it to be, then, under the law of the Church of England? But that law in some respects it was impossible to apply. As he had said, on December 18, in England the bodies to be consulted about the division of a parish were the Church Building Commissioners and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, neither of which bodies had anything to do with South Africa, and the other persons were the Rector, the Patron, and the Bishop. Now he had obtained the consent of the Rector; and he himself, as Bishop of the Diocese, was Patron. There was, therefore, no other person, who, under Church of England law, had any claim to be consulted.

"And I would have you observe," he added, with a touch of good-natured humour, "that in England the parishioners themselves have no say in the matter at all, a thing which, I am sure, would not commend itself to the people of Wynberg! In fact," he continued, "legal opinion, given after careful consultation of law books, is that the division of the parish rests absolutely in the discretion of the Bishop, without the necessity of obtaining any consents at all.

"The Churchwardens, it is true, claim that the Vestry should be summoned to decide the question. But the Vestry was constituted under the special Wynberg Ordinance Act of 1891, and has power only over St. John's Church, the Cemeteries, and the Rectory. The word 'Parish' does not once occur in the Act, and the legal opinion is that the Vestry has no say in the question of enlargement or diminution of the area of the parish.

"There was no vote taken at the meeting in December; but now I intend to ask for a vote of those who are Communicants, resident in the parish, and upon one question only, 'Ought Plumstead to be formed into a separate parish or not?' And as Plumstead is the district most deeply interested in the matter, I will ask that the vote may be taken in three separate sections, according as the Communicants voting worship in one or other of the

three different Churches — St. John's Wynberg, Kenilworth, and Plumstead.

"I do not consider myself bound either way by the vote of the majority. I am merely, for my own information, before taking action, seeking an expression of the opinions prevailing in the parish. And I most strongly deprecate anything like animosity between those who take opposite views upon the subject before us to-night."

The Archbishop's speech was followed by one from Sir Charles Abercrombie Smith, who said that he approved of the summoning of this meeting, and also of the vote being taken in three sections, as proposed. But he contended, as Churchwarden, that the matter ought to go to the Vestry for decision, who should be asked to appoint an impartial Committee. Some other speakers, including his Co-Churchwarden, and Mr. J. D. Cartwright, M.L.C., supported him in this contention.

On behalf of the Plumstead petitioners the chief speech was made by Mr. A. W. Robinson, who urged that the petitioners were merely exercising their proper rights as Churchmen in approaching the Archbishop, as the head of the Church with which they were personally in communion. They admitted no authority on the part of the Vestry to decide upon the question in debate. They asked for no interference with the temporal rights of others, or with the Act of Parliament affecting the congregation worshipping at St. John's, Wynberg. Their one and only desire was to have their full rights as Churchmen.

Colonel Southey, another who had signed the Plumstead petition, combated the plausible argument, "Keep the parish entire, and let it decide, as a whole, for or against joining the Church of the Province." Some, he said, had asserted that they cared not how many were in favour of such union, they would resist it to the very end. This assertion had greatly influenced the Churchmen at Plumstead in resolving upon a petition to the Archbishop.

After this the Archbishop replied to several points raised. He also read the legal opinion, to which he had already referred, announcing it to be that of Mr. Advocate F. G. Gardiner,¹ and he added that, should the new parish be

¹ Attorney-General of the Cape Province, 1910.

formed, Diep River School-Chapel, and the land on which that building stood, would be excluded from its area. He described the request of the Plumstead petitioners as a perfectly reasonable one, because they saw that, as long as they were attached to Wynberg, they would be shut out from the Provincial system, and therefore debarred from taking any part in Synodical legislation, and from any right to share in the election of a Bishop of the Diocese, who is elected as a Bishop of the Church of the Province. He also stated that the Cathedral Chapter, whom he had consulted, had advised him to call the present meeting, and likewise to grant the petitioners what they asked.

The votes of the Communicants present were then counted by show of hands, and in three sections, according to the Churches in which they were severally accustomed to worship. The figures, which were carefully checked and authenticated on the spot by the leading representatives of the parish assembled on the platform, were as follows :—

(1) St. John's, Wynberg—For, 73 ; against, 18.

(2) Kenilworth—For, 3 ; against, 31.

(3) Plumstead and Diep River—For, 52 ; against, 13.

Total—For, 128 ; against, 62.

Thereupon the Archbishop said that, though he had expressly asserted himself not bound, either way, by the result of the voting, so decisive an expression of opinion on the part of the Communicants of the whole parish had removed any scruple for hesitation on his part, and he should at once proclaim Plumstead a separate parish.

Then Sir Charles Abercrombie Smith, with the utmost candour, said his own contention still was that the matter ought to be referred to the Vestry, but yet, if it were so referred, he should now be inclined to advise the Vestry to accede to the claim put forward by Plumstead.

So the meeting ended. Two or three days later, the new Parish of Plumstead was duly proclaimed in the *Government Gazette* for Cape Colony, and the Rev. F. Shelmerdine received his licence as Priest-in-charge, till he could be formally instituted as Rector a month afterwards, an institution which was one of the last acts that the Archbishop did before he sailed for England.

During the discussion preceding the voting on January 27, an appeal to the Privy Council had been threatened, should the formation of a new parish be determined upon. But this did not trouble the Archbishop in the least. He was sure of his ground. And though Counsel's opinion, as to the practicability of such an appeal, was actually taken by those who had opposed the division of the parish, the advice given was, as might have been expected, adverse to the prosecution of any such appeal.

The parishioners of Plumstead have had no cause to regret the step they took. They received at once a cordial and brotherly welcome into the unity of the Diocese and of the Province. They have themselves fulfilled their promises by building a Church and supporting their own Clergyman, and they are quite happy in their new status as a parish under Synodical government, and possessing Synodical representation.

PART VI.—CHAPTERS LXIV.—LXV.

1908

PEACE AT THE LAST

Only we ask through shadows of the valley
Stay of Thy staff and guiding of Thy rod ;
Only, when rulers of the darkness rally,
Be Thou beside us, very near, O God.
F. W. H. MYERS.

Mane nobiscum, Domine, quoniam advesperascit, et inclinata est jam dies.

CHAPTER LXIV

Visitation in Caledon parish, 1908—Consecration of Rev. E. N. Powell to the See of Mashonaland—A Service of Farewell at the Cathedral, and presentation of the contribution from Capetown Diocese towards the great Pan-Anglican Thank-offering—The Archbishop's last address—An accident on board ship—The United Festival of the Ten South African Dioceses, April 28, 1908—The Archbishop's illness and death at Housel Bay, Cornwall—The funeral at Oxford.

DURING February 1908 the Archbishop was away for a considerable time in the parish of Caledon on a last visitation round. On the 18th of that month the Bishop-Elect of Mashonaland, the Rev. E. N. Powell, D.D., arrived from England and came to stay at Bishops court. He had been Vicar of St. Stephen's, Upton Park, East Ham, for the past sixteen years, and was now to be the successor of Dr. W. T. Gaul, who had resigned in the previous year. Six days later, on Monday, February 24, St. Matthias' Day, in Capetown Cathedral, the Archbishop, assisted by Dr. Cornish, Bishop of Grahamstown, and Dr. Cameron, Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, consecrated Dr. Powell to the See of Mashonaland. It was a very touching sight, as was remarked at the time, when in the procession at the conclusion of the Service the Archbishop and the newly consecrated Bishop, both men of more than ordinary stature, passed out of the Cathedral hand in hand, according to the usual custom; the one so evidently worn with the labours of an episcopate of thirty-four years, the other, as it seemed, strong for the work which lay before him in the years yet to come.

Before the Archbishop left for England, a farewell Service was held in Capetown Cathedral on Monday evening,

March 2; and at this Service the sum of £1055¹—the contribution of the Capetown Diocese towards the great Thank-offering to be made in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, by the whole Anglican Communion at the Pan-Anglican Congress—was solemnly presented on the altar. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Father H. P. Bull, S.S.J.E., who had done much to organize the collection of the Thank-offering; and then, after the presentation of the Diocesan Thank-offering, the Archbishop, standing on the altar steps, delivered a farewell address.

First, he expressed his intense joy that the Diocese should be committing to his charge that night so wonderfully generous a contribution to the great Pan-Anglican Thank-offering, and that likewise, on that very evening, the last five shillings had been sent in, which had raised the "New Cathedral Five Shilling Fund" to an amount of exactly £1000; and then he continued:

My dearly beloved in Christ—As I look back over the nearly thirty-four years which have elapsed since my first arrival in Capetown, I cannot help thanking God, but in no spirit of boasting or self-glorification. God has indeed been with us; and to Him must all the glory be given for what He has enabled us to do.

In those years we have seen our Diocesan College and School strengthened to new life. We have seen the All Saints' Sisterhood develop its small, humble, and poor buildings in Keerom Street into large and fully organized institutions on better sites. We have seen the Fathers of the Society of St. John the Evangelist come out and render invaluable services to the Church throughout the Diocese, and even throughout the Province. We have seen the Native College at Zonnebloem grow into a fine block of buildings. We have seen in almost all parishes of the Diocese, Churches either built or enlarged, and some of them of real beauty, and now we are watching with anxious and eager eyes our noble and majestic Cathedral rising at last. We have seen institutions developed and new Societies formed, such as the "English Church Men's Society," the "Mothers' Union," the "Girls' Friendly Society," the "Church Temperance Society," and numerous others, including the valuable "Women's Diocesan Association" which works for the strengthening of our Church in its poorer parishes.

¹ An additional £24 was received later, and another £1000 was given anonymously in England, bringing the total up to £2079, all except £46 going to the "unappropriated" section of the Thank-offering, *i.e.* that part which was placed unconditionally at the disposal of the Bishops of the Church, and not earmarked for any special object.

Yes, the Diocese is far better equipped now than it was thirty years ago. And for that, God be praised !

And now what shall I say as my last words to you ?

1. Be filled with the Spirit of Charity and Love, which St. Paul commends so strongly in his Epistle to the Colossians, "Above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness"; and which St. Peter dwells upon with equal emphasis, "Above all things have fervent charity among yourselves." We need it, do we not ? Contentions, thank God, are not so rife amongst us as they once were. But there are still differences of opinions, for men look at the same theological truths from different aspects. And I say once more, Let us be filled with the spirit of love and charity ; and that not only in regard to those who belong to the same communion as ourselves, but towards others also. That is what charity means. It does not, of course, mean merely almsgiving. It means saying kind things, and doing kind things, and forbearing one another, with sympathy, with friendship, and with love.

2. Be filled also with the Spirit of Prayer. We can do nothing without that. We can do everything with it. Bishop Wilkinson of St. Andrew's, who died lately, just after he had been urging his brethren to be earnest in prayer, once said that he had never known any work to fail which had been begun and continued in prayer. Pray earnestly that God may bless the parishes to which you belong. Never forget to pray for your parish Priest. Whenever there is any complaint as to the labours of one of our Clergy, it generally comes from the lips of those, who, if asked, have to confess that they have never prayed for him. How can you expect the Clergy to do God's work to good effect, when you are conscious that you do not pray for them ? Pray, therefore, daily for the work of the Church of God in your own parish, and pray also daily for the Church's work throughout the world. Pray likewise for him, who has ministered to you, so unworthily indeed, as he knows only too well, but yet by the call of God. Pray for him in your private prayers during his absence from you, and in particular pray for him in that special work in which he goes to take his share. Pray for the Blessing of God upon the great Pan-Anglican Congress, of which our preacher has been speaking to us to-night, that God's Holy Spirit may fill it with His Grace and with all spiritual understanding. Pray also for the Bishops, 250 or more in number, who are to meet at Lambeth in July, when the Congress is over. Pray that, in all their counsels for the welfare of the Church, they may be endued with "the Spirit of power and love and of a sound mind" for the extension of His Kingdom.

3. And lastly, let me just quote a few words from St. Paul which seem, with one very slight alteration, to express more aptly than any words of my own, what I wish to say at this moment : "Now

I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the Love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me; that your offering which I have to carry in your name, may be accepted of God, and 'that I may come unto you with joy by the Will of God, and may with you be refreshed. Now the God of Peace be with you all. Amen.'"

After this address the Archbishop gave the blessing, and then the Choir and Clergy quietly left the Cathedral, singing the *Nunc Dimittis*.

A fine, simple, dignified, and affectionate farewell, not unworthy to be the Archbishop's last official and public utterance in his own Diocese. A Priest who was present wrote of it thus :

That tall figure speaking from the Altar in the full tones which made themselves heard so easily through the whole Cathedral, and with all the emotion of a parting from his Diocese which he well knew might be final, has fashioned a memory which will not fade away. Our last view of him was all happiness.

In the Vestry, and at the door of the Cathedral, the Archbishop said good-bye to many friends that night, and a host of others came down to the ship on the following Monday, March 9, when he sailed for England, accompanied by Mrs. West Jones and by his Chaplain.

Only those nearest to the Archbishop during that period could know how great had been the strain of the last four toilsome years, and more particularly of the last two, and how courageously he had borne it all. It was often a consolation to think that the very number of the troubles surrounding him must prevent him from dwelling too long upon any one of them. He himself said, a few days before he left home, "Post episcopum sedet atra cura," and expressed a fear that even on the voyage his cares would haunt him still. But happily, when on board, he was able to forget them. Indeed, to a remarkable extent, various difficult problems had been settled before he sailed, and much had happened lately to cheer and to inspirit him.

The voyage was a fairly good one, until after the vessel had left Madeira. Then there came dull, overcast days, and a considerable swell set in from the west. One morning, as the ship rolled, the Archbishop lost his footing and fell

across a deck-chair, wrenching badly the same arm which had suffered by the cab accident and the rough voyage to and from Robben Island in the previous September. The pain was intense at the time, and continued to trouble him for many days.

When he reached England, on March 31, he went to stay at Winchester with his brother, Mr. H. P. Jones, and, after that, with other relatives and friends until April 28, when he was present at the South African Festival in London, and, in the unavoidable absence of Lord Nelson, took the chair at the meeting in the Church House in the afternoon. The following account of that day, and of the events which succeeded it, was written by his Chaplain, the Rev. M. H. M. Wood, for the information of the Capetown Diocese :

The Archbishop spoke at considerable length, with occasional flashes of his wonted humour, and without any appearance of painful effort, although his voice sounded to me as though he were weary, and were husbanding his strength. After the meeting he drove to Miss Franks' house in Victoria Street, and there met and talked with several friends. Presently he called me away from the drawing-room, and arranged with me some matters of business, including the revision and dispatch of a letter to the *Times*, with an appeal for the sum required to carry out the work necessary for making the new Capetown Cathedral available for immediate use. Then I parted from him ; and next day he went down to Cornwall with Mrs. West Jones to Housel Bay, near the Lizard, where Miss Grace Jowitt, their niece, joined them about a fortnight later. After this I heard nothing more until, in reply to a letter of mine intended for the Archbishop's birthday, May 11, I heard from Mrs. West Jones that he had been obliged to spend that day in bed. Other letters followed, speaking of trouble in one foot and knee, and of feverishness accompanying it. Though the doctor at Housel Bay took prompt measures for relief, and these were effective, yet the Archbishop's general state continued unsatisfactory. Another doctor was called in for consultation, and finally Dr. Acland (the Archbishop's own doctor and personal friend) was summoned from London. He approved of everything which had been done, gave such further directions as his knowledge of the Archbishop's constitution suggested, and left next morning on his return to town. Meanwhile I had heard that the Archbishop would be glad to have me with him, if I could come. The letter arrived on Tuesday morning, May 19. I drove to Reading, caught the fast train from London, and travelled down to Helston, the terminus of the Lizard branch of the G.W.R. The country

all the way was absolutely glorious in the rich verdure of a late spring, after heavy snow in the last week of April. I slept at the Angel Hotel at Helston, and went on next morning by motor 'bus, past banks dotted with orchis, primroses, and wild hyacinths, and open ground with such masses of gorse in full bloom, that I was reminded of the beautiful story of the great botanist Linnæus, that once, coming suddenly out upon a hillside and seeing a sight like this, he fell upon his knees in a rapture of delight, thanking God that the world contained such a perfect marvel of loveliness. I reached at 9 A.M. Housel Bay Hotel, which stands quite by itself, facing seawards, and close to the cliff, in a quiet, secluded spot, not far from the Lizard lighthouse. From the hotel door, steep, grass-covered slopes descend to the picturesque rocks enclosing the little bay. At night the revolving lantern in the great lighthouse sends a broad ray of electric light sweeping round. For a moment it catches in the circuit of its brilliance the hotel building, then flashing up the flag-staff on the little promontory hard by, it is gone again towards the horizon seaward, like the transitory gleam of summer lightning.

I found the Archbishop drowsy and tired.¹ He knew me at once, and was pleased to see me. But, a few minutes before my arrival, I had met Dr. Acland on his way back to London, and he had told me that the Archbishop's state was critical, that there was little hope, and that the Archbishop himself knew it. The only chance was that there might be an unexpected rally. As the Archbishop was too tired to communicate, I went away for some breakfast, and came back later in the morning and had a little talk with him. I gave him two messages. One was from the Bishop of Pretoria, who had telegraphed his affectionate sympathy, when from a telegram we sent off that morning he heard how seriously ill the Archbishop was. Another came from Dr. Gaul, late Bishop of Mashonaland. At both messages his face lighted up, and he replied with some words of pleasure and gratitude. When Lieutenant W. A. F. Jones, his elder son (the younger was out at the Cape with his ship), arrived in the afternoon after a long journey from Glasgow, he recognized him and spoke to him. But early in the evening he became unconscious. The doctor at his evening visit found him weaker, and told us that there was no more hope of recovery. I said a commendatory office that night, as we all knelt together in the room. Then, as it seemed likely from the steady breathing that he would live many hours, the doctor insisted that we must go to bed. There were two excellent

¹ In his illness he had lost none of his usual thoughtfulness for others. His niece said afterwards, "The Saturday before he died, when he and my aunt were alone together, and the doctors were consulting downstairs, he sent her to fetch me, simply because he knew that I was having a bad time waiting. And when I went into his room, he stretched out his hand, and said with a smile, 'Come and sit here, dear child; they are a long time deciding what they are going to do with me, aren't they?' He was in pain then, and inexpressibly weary; but he only thought of how to help us."

trained nurses, who had been with him continuously the last few days and nights, and we were each of us with him from time to time this night. I was there myself praying at his side between 3 and 4 A.M. for some while, and again about 6.15, when there was still no great alteration. But at 8.45 A.M. on Thursday, May 21, a sudden change came. Miss Jowitt, his niece, was kneeling near him in prayer, and noticed this. She at once summoned Mrs. West Jones. The Archbishop opened his eyes and recognized her, drew one breath, and was gone, quite peacefully and, to all appearance, painlessly.

For such a departure, and for the long, laborious, and faithful life of which it was the conclusion, we all could not do otherwise, in the very midst of sorrow, than humbly and sincerely thank God as, on the evening of that sad Thursday, we knelt together in the room where the body lay. And the Archbishop of Canterbury seems to have had, quite independently, the very same thought in his mind; for he telegraphed, when he heard the tidings: "We are thanking God with you for the brave persistent life of Christian leadership which has now passed to higher ministries elsewhere."¹

After death the body was arrayed in the episcopal robes. Round it were set lilies of the valley and other white flowers sent by friends, and a small crucifix was placed in the hands clasped on the breast. From the first the Archbishop's face was wonderfully calm and peaceful, and this look of rest seemed even to increase as the hours went by.

It will be a great consolation to all those in South Africa who could not be near our dear Archbishop at the last, to know that every possible mark of deep sympathy, respect, and lovingkindness was shown by the people of the little village, and by the landlady and servants at the hotel. Nobody could have been more thoughtful and considerate. They acted more in the manner of relatives than of strangers; and did everything that true Christian feeling could suggest, both before and after the Archbishop had passed away.

His nephew, Mr. F. B. Jackson, to whom he was much attached, was now with us: and Dr. Vyvyan, Bishop of Zululand, and the Rev. S. J. Daltry, formerly Rector of Woodstock in the Diocese of Capetown, both of whom were in Cornwall and had heard of the Archbishop's death, came to take a last look at the beloved face; and

¹ A month later the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took the chair at that great meeting of Pan-Anglican Congress in the Albert Hall on the evening of June 18, at which it had been originally fixed that the Archbishop of Capetown should preside, said at the conclusion of the proceedings, "Had I known at the beginning that I was taking the place of one of the noblest servants of our Lord and Saviour who have in our generation borne the responsibility of high leadership in the Church beyond the seas, I should have asked all present to lift up their hearts with me for a few moments in silent thanksgiving for that splendid example of steady God-given power, the more effective and eloquent because so self-restrained and unobtrusive, which for thirty-four years, some of them years of the keenest anxiety and strain, has been given by my dear friend and brother, the late Archbishop of Capetown."

the prayers which the Bishop said for the departed and for the mourners were very full of comfort.

The Rector of the Parish and the two Churchwardens took turns in keeping watch in the room throughout the last night at Housel Bay ; and, by a peculiarly touching coincidence, one of the two Churchwardens happened to be Mr. Hammond Upton, a brother of Mr. E. F. Upton, the Verger of St. George's Cathedral, Capetown. Very early on Saturday morning I celebrated in the room, where the body now rested in its coffin of unpolished oak, a small plain brass cross at the head, and the short inscription beneath :

In Pace.

WILLIAM WEST JONES

ARCHBISHOP OF CAPE TOWN

1874-1908.

It was a very beautiful Service, with the morning light streaming in at the window, and the blue waters of the Channel sparkling in the sunshine just outside. Everything seemed to speak of the true Christian hope, which looks forward to the swallowing up of death in victory.

I started that morning for Oxford, in the same train in which the Archbishop's body was placed. On the way, at Truro station, the Rev. D. E. Young, formerly Chaplain to the Archbishop, met the train and said that they had taken care that the great bell of Truro Cathedral should be tolling as the train passed.

At Oxford the coffin was taken to the Pusey House, and there laid before the Altar in the Chapel of the Resurrection, which is in the garden behind the main building. Here six tall candles were burning beside it night and day, and amongst the flowers placed on the purple pall, was a cross of silver leaves from the silver trees of Bishops court.

The Bishop of Bloemfontein, Dr. Chandler, celebrated in this Chapel on Sunday ; on Monday, the Rev. W. H. Hutton,¹ Fellow of St. John's College, a great friend of the Archbishop ; and on Tuesday, the day of the funeral, when the mourners were present and communicated, Dr. Williams, Bishop of St. John's, who was for many years the Archbishop's Chaplain.

In the afternoon of Tuesday, May 26, the body was taken from the Pusey House to Christ Church Cathedral. Here, outside the west door, ten South African Bishops were waiting in their episcopal robes to receive it and to act as pall-bearers ; eight being the present Diocesan Bishops of Pretoria, Lebombo, Grahamstown, Natal, St. John's, Bloemfontein, Zululand, and St. Helena, all now in England

¹ Archdeacon of Northampton, 1911.

for the Lambeth Conference; the ninth, Dr. W. T. Gaul, so recently Bishop of Mashonaland; and the tenth, Dr. A. Hamilton Baynes, who was Bishop of Natal from 1893 to 1901. Dr. Gibson, our former Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, to his own deep disappointment, was detained in Switzerland by his health; and Dr. Powell, the newly consecrated Bishop of Mashonaland, and our present Coadjutor Bishop, Dr. Cameron, were of course in South Africa. Otherwise every Diocese of the Province was as directly and as completely represented as it could possibly have been.

The procession entered the Cathedral in the following order. First came the Choir, the Chaplains and Canons of the Cathedral, the Dean of Christ Church, and the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Paget. Then the late Archbishop's Chaplain, carrying a mitre on a cushion, then the coffin covered by its pall, and with the ten South African Bishops as pall-bearers on the right and on the left. Then followed, side by side, the Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Copleston, and the Bishop of Southwark, Dr. Talbot. The Bishop of Calcutta is an Hon. Fellow of St. John's College, and a very old and dear friend of our Archbishop, and as a deacon, thirty-four years ago, preached his Consecration Sermon. The Bishop of Southwark is the representative of the South African Province on the "Consultative Body" initiated by the Lambeth Conference, and he was also, by special request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the representative, on this occasion, of the Bishops of England. Then came our Archbishop's Commissaries, the Rev. Canon E. E. Holmes, formerly his Chaplain, and the Rev. F. Gurdon; then the mourners, Mrs. West Jones and Lieutenant W. A. F. Jones, and Mr. F. M. T. Jones-Balme, the Archbishop's brother, with many nephews and nieces and other relatives; then the representatives of St. John's College, including the Vice-President (the Rev. Leighton Pullan), the Precentor (the Rev. W. H. Hutton), and the Rev. E. C. Dermer. The venerable President of St. John's College (Dr. Bellamy) was also in the Cathedral, though now in his ninetieth year, and unable to take part in the procession.

The sentences were very finely sung by the Cathedral Choir without any accompaniment. The Psalm also was sung. The Bishop of Oxford read the lesson, which was followed by the hymn "Jesus lives." During the solemn and beautiful funeral march we left the Cathedral for the quiet little cemetery adjoining the Church of St. Cross, Holywell. Here the Bishop of Pretoria, Dr. Carter, now senior Bishop of the Province of South Africa, in a voice full of the deepest feeling, said the sentences at the grave-side, the large congregation of friends and relations joined in the Lord's Prayer, the Bishop of Calcutta said the last Collects, and after the hymn, "Now the labourer's task is o'er," which was most reverently and sweetly sung by the Choir of St. John's College,

and seemed strikingly appropriate, the Bishop of Oxford gave the final blessing.

It would be impossible to mention all who were at the funeral. But amongst them were many of the past and present Clergy of the Province of South Africa, and Dr. J. L. Randall, Bishop of Reading ; Dr. W. M. Richardson, late Bishop of Zanzibar ; the Vice-Chancellor of the University (Dr. Warren, President of Magdalen), the Warden of New College (Dr. Spooner), the Provost of Queen's (Dr. Magrath), the Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge (Dr. A. J. Mason), the Principal of the Pusey House (the Rev. V. S. S. Coles), and six of the Society of St. John the Evangelist—namely, Father Benson, its venerable Founder ; Father Maxwell, its present Superior ; Fathers Congreve, Hodge, and Pridham, and Brother Maynard ; the last four having all worked at one time or another in South Africa. There were present also four who once were Assistant Curates to our Archbishop, when Vicar of Summertown—namely, the Ven. W. Donne, Archdeacon of Huddersfield, the Rev. Canon H. S. Syers, the Rev. L. J. Chamberlen, and the Rev. E. R. Massey ; and three of those who had been his Chaplains—the Rev. C. H. Joberns, Canon E. E. Holmes, and myself. The Cape Government also had its representative in Mr. Hermann Erskine, who came in place of the Agent-General.

Every one was deeply impressed by seeing no less than ten South African Bishops acting as pall-bearers. Yet, as one of the Bishops of the Province said to me afterwards, "People seem to think it a wonderful thing that we should all be here. But to us the wonderful thing would have been that we should not have come from the very ends of the earth, if possible, in order to be present."¹

After the first sentences at the graveside, and the committal of the body to the ground, in the pause that followed, it was noticed how "a thrush in a tree not ten yards away suddenly burst forth into full-throated song—such a burst of praise, and so sustained, that we could not help feeling that it was a pæan of praise to the Giver of all good gifts for His gift of the noble life of the Archbishop of Capetown to our Empire and Province."²

¹ It is interesting to find that some also of his old Summertown parishioners came. A friend saw a group of elderly women standing in the portico of the Cathedral, and presently heard one of them say that they were from Summertown, and ask whether there would be room for them. The Verger very properly said, "If there is room for any one, there will be room for you." And they went in.

² From a letter written immediately after the funeral to the Archdeacon of the Cape, the Ven. R. Brooke, by the Rev. B. E. Holmes, Canon of Grahamstown, afterwards Archdeacon of King Williamstown.

Over the grave, which is close by the door of the little Cemetery Chapel, there now stands a Celtic Cross. The inscription on it is :

Here rests the body of WILLIAM WEST JONES, D.D., Archbishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of South Africa, who fell asleep May 21, 1908, having just completed the 70th year of his age and the 34th of his Episcopate.

In hope of the Resurrection.

CHAPTER LXV

Reception of the news at Capetown—The Funeral Service in the Cathedral—A Memorial Chapel decided upon—The Memorial Chapel completed and consecrated, October 28, 1909—Sermon of the Bishop of St. John's—A Description of the Chapel and of the Recumbent Effigy of the Archbishop placed therein.

CAPETOWN had received from England the first news of the Archbishop's serious illness on Wednesday, May 20, in a cable message asking for him the prayers of the Church. This message was speedily telegraphed through the Diocese, and, so far as possible, through the Province of South Africa. Next day, Thursday 21, came the further tidings that the Archbishop had passed peacefully away early that morning. Everywhere the announcement brought the deepest and sincerest sorrow, for everywhere he was well known and beloved. It was remarkable how in Capetown the different religious bodies, with hardly a single exception, testified to the respect in which they held him, and generously manifested their sympathy with those whose head and Father in God he had been for so many long years. The daily press was equally warm in the expression of its appreciation of his long work in South Africa and of his "genial and kindly personality," although he had never either concealed his own opinions, or in any way courted popularity.

A Service was held in St. George's Cathedral, Capetown, on Tuesday, May 26, and was so timed as to synchronize with the actual funeral Service in England. The Archbishop's younger son, Lieutenant C. Harold Jones, R.N., at that time stationed with his ship, the *Pelorus*, at Simonstown, and the only member of the Archbishop's own family then at the Cape, was, of course, the chief mourner ; and amongst

those present were H.E. Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, Governor of Cape Colony ; Sir Reginald Hart, V.C., General-in-Command at the Cape ; the Right Hon. J. X. Merriman, Prime Minister ; and many other persons of distinction, including the representatives of most of the chief religious bodies in Capetown.

But of such a man, and of so long an episcopate, it was felt that there should be some permanent and dignified memorial. By universal consent the fittest and most appropriate seemed to be one connected with the New Cathedral, on behalf of which he had toiled so unremittingly for years past, to which he had contributed personally with the greatest generosity, and of which, without the least exaggeration, he might be accounted the founder. In fact, but for his perseverance and enthusiasm, it is certain that the whole scheme would have been relegated to the far distant future.

It was, therefore, determined at a public meeting to build the North Chapel of the New Cathedral in his memory. Such a plan seemed bold indeed, and almost rash at such a time, for those were the darkest days of the longest and worst commercial depression ever known in South Africa. It had lasted more than six years, and showed signs of lasting much longer. Numbers of Churchmen, amongst others, had suffered grievously, and the several appeals already made for the New Cathedral might be supposed to have exhausted the willingness of people in general to give towards this particular object.

But the success of the plan has fully and wonderfully justified the confidence of those who formed it, and the completion of the Archbishop's Memorial Chapel in less than eighteen months after his death, at a cost of £4400 for the fabric alone, and in spite of all the difficulties and drawbacks just mentioned, is a striking proof of the great devotion of his people to him, more particularly when it is remembered that not more than about £700 was contributed from England, and that in the amount collected in South Africa there were only three large sums of £200 apiece, and only one of these came from outside the Diocese itself. The Memorial Chapel, therefore, is the gift not of a few, but of

many, and represents the offerings of a multitude of loving hearts and willing hands.

The foundation-stone of the Chapel was laid on November 20, during the meeting in Capetown of the Elective Assembly of the Diocese and of the Episcopal Synod of the Province for the choice of a successor to the late Archbishop in the See of Capetown. Dr. Carter, Bishop of Pretoria and Acting Metropolitan, laid the stone in the presence of a large assembly of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, and taking his text from the words of St. Paul at the beginning of the Epistle for that week, "I thank my God upon every remembrance of you," said that these words had been running in his mind, as exactly expressing his own feeling about the late Archbishop. Looking back now over the seventeen years which had passed since he himself first came to South Africa, he remembered how he was then

received by the Archbishop and commissioned for his work with that love, that gentleness, and that wise counsel, which had always characterized him. He was always the same, always loving, always considerate, always brave, always strong; strong in condemning what he believed to be wrong, strong in upholding what he believed to be right, strong in contending for the Faith. As everyone knows, he lived with a single eye to God's glory; in God he lived, and moved, and had his being.

The Memorial Chapel was consecrated eleven months later, on the Festival of SS. Simon and Jude, October 28, 1909, during the Session of the Seventh Provincial Synod.

The very touching Consecration Service in the early morning of that day, with the Memorial Chapel thronged with Communicants, all either members of Synod or personal friends of the late Archbishop, will be long remembered by those who had the privilege of sharing in it. In the afternoon there was a crowded Service in the Old Cathedral with a sermon by Dr. Williams, Bishop of St. John's. At the beginning of this second Service, the Bishops of the Province with their Chaplains, the other members of the Provincial Synod, Clerical and Lay, and the Clergy and Choirs of the neighbouring Churches, mustering first in the schoolyard of St. George's Cathedral Grammar School, passed up in a long procession of 300 persons into the New Cathedral, through

the Chancel and through the Memorial Chapel, then out into Wale Street, and so in again at the west door of the Old Cathedral, singing the processional hymns. It was an apt and beautiful linking together of the old and the new—the Old Cathedral, which is in due time to be displaced entirely by its more glorious successor, and the New Cathedral, of which this Memorial Chapel is the first completed and consecrated part.

In the course of his sermon the Bishop of St. John's spoke thus of the Archbishop's public life as a whole :

His was a life which, as some of you must know even better than I, was held with whole-hearted determination at the disposal of his Master. In that long primacy of thirty-four years, and especially at the beginning, there were times of storm, and anxiety, and strain. Surely it was due, under God, to an unswerving desire to rule the Church by principle and not by compromise, that we trace that steady growth in power of real statesmanship, which guided her on into the peace of the later years. We, who sat with him in this Synod, can never forget the wise, the fearless, the unrivalled power, with which he guided our discussions ; nor the perfect fairness, with which he disentangled the threads of a complicated debate, a fairness which never degenerated into weakness.

Then the Bishop singled out three characteristics as the inner secret of the more pastoral aspect of his life : first, his generosity ; secondly, his extraordinary width of sympathy ; thirdly, his capacity for deep and genuine affection “so that everywhere in the house of the official, or in the trader's store, or among the natives, that gracious presence has left the remembrance of a true Father in God.”

The Memorial Chapel is dedicated in the name of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of St. John's College, Oxford, to which the Archbishop belonged. From the Old Cathedral that altar at which, during his long episcopate, he had so often celebrated, together with its Cross and candlesticks, and with the picture of the Adoration of the Magi above it, will eventually be transferred to this Chapel. The beautiful stained glass which fills all the windows is the gift of Mrs. West Jones in memory of the Archbishop, and is the work of Mr. Walter E. Tower, cousin and successor of Mr. C. E. Kempe. In a tiny window in the north side of the eastern

wall a graceful and alert figure of St. John the Baptist, as a child, with his *Ecce Agnus Dei* banner in his hand, recalls the dedication of the Chapel. The subject of the two larger lights of the central east window is that commission which was given by the Risen Christ on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias to St. Peter, and which is taken as representative of the Pastoral Commission to all Bishops in His Church, "Feed My Sheep." The sexfoil above contains mitre, primatial cross, pastoral staff, and shields with the armorial bearings of the See and of the late Archbishop, all skilfully worked in, together with the words, "*Primus in sede Archiep. de Capetown.*" The four single-light windows in the north wall depict four Bishops in cope and mitre, three being also Archbishops. Two are of Africa; two of England. The two of Africa are St. Athanasius, whom the Archbishop of Capetown regarded with special veneration for his pastoral zeal, as well as for his defence of the true faith, and St. Augustine, the great theologian Bishop of Hippo. The two of England are St. Augustine of Canterbury, first Primate of England, and "Archbishop of the English," and Archbishop Laud, President of St. John's College, Oxford, from 1611 to 1621. Laud, like his successor Dr. Juxon, King Charles the First's Chaplain on the scaffold, and like Dr. West Jones himself, is buried at Oxford; all these three Archbishops, as it happens, being likewise members of the same College of St. John.

A fine recumbent effigy¹ of the late Archbishop of Capetown, the gift of his relatives, occupies the space beneath one of the arches which divide the Memorial Chapel from the Choir of the New Cathedral. The bronze figure is by Mr. C. L. Hartwell, of the Royal Society of British Sculptors, and conveys, in a singularly effective way, a most pathetic suggestion of weariness, and yet of rest at last. It lies upon a base of dark serpentine marble, chosen in reference to the place of the Archbishop's death in Cornwall. The inscription, which is duplicated on the two long sides of the monument, runs thus :

¹ See p. 479 below.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF
WILLIAM WEST JONES, D.D.,
ARCHBISHOP OF CAPETOWN,
BORN MAY 11TH, 1838,
CONSECRATED SECOND BISHOP OF CAPETOWN,
MAY 17TH, 1874,
DIED ON A VISIT TO ENGLAND,
MAY 21ST, 1908.
BURIED AT HOLYWELL, OXFORD,
MAY 26TH, 1908.

After this, on the one side, in allusion to all that the Archbishop did for the building of the New Cathedral, are inscribed the words, "Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy House"; and on the other side, "We being many are One Body in Christ," a reference to his long conflict for the maintenance of the full unity between the Church in England and the Church in South Africa in spiritual freedom, holy fellowship, and mutual love; and also to the gradual inclusion of the many different races of South Africa in the One Church.

PART VII.—CHAPTER LXVI.

THE ARCHBISHOP AS RULER, FRIEND, AND FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE

Chief of Thy faithful band,
He held himself the least,
Though Thy dread keys were in his hand,
O Everlasting Priest.

Hymn for a Bishop, by the Rev. V. S. S. COLES.

Nulla splendidior gemma humilitate, in omni praecipue ornatu summi pontificis.—ST. BERNARD, *De Consideratione*, ii. 6.

CHAPTER LXVI

The Archbishop's administrative talents and wide interests—Diligence in visitation—Sympathetic character—Courtesy in Synod and elsewhere—Home life at Bishops court—Friendly relations with laymen and military officers—Playfulness with children—Severity and tenderness—Self-control and humility—Open-handed liberality—Faithfulness to friends and gracious kindliness to all—Remarkable gift of memory—An Ordination candidate's recollections—Letters of consolation and congratulation—Thoughtfulness for the Clergy—Fatherliness in rebuke—The testimony of an outsider—A true and dearly beloved Father in God.

It will be interesting to collect together here a few of the reminiscences and impressions sent by those who had some special and intimate knowledge of the Archbishop.

"The fact," writes Dr. Alan Gibson, for twelve years his Coadjutor Bishop, "which, perhaps, most impressed itself upon me in connexion with him, was the absolutely universal respect and devotion felt for him by all classes through the whole of South Africa. Circumstances took me at various times into all but one of the ten Dioceses (as they then were) of the Province. Everywhere I found him to be a real power and an object of genuine affection.

"In the Archbishop's own personality, the feature which I should myself be inclined to single out was his many-sidedness. One may think of him as statesman, theologian, and practical man of business; as one conversant with architecture, painting, and music; as one who took a keen interest in games; and as one who kept himself well abreast of contemporary literature. Add to this his remarkable thoughtfulness and sympathy, and a most retentive memory, and it will be seen at once how peculiarly fitted he was for the difficult position which, in God's Providence, he was called to fill for no less than thirty-four years.

"In his Diocesan administration, nothing, to my mind, was so striking as the thoroughness of his visitation of country parishes. The habit of spending the best part of a week in a town or village,

and of visiting the people in their own homes, enabled him to be in a most unusual degree—what all the Clergy and Laity of his large Diocese felt him to be—a true ‘Episcopus’ and Father in God.”

This description of the Archbishop’s method of visitation in country parishes is aptly illustrated by the testimony of the Ven. R. Brooke, Archdeacon of the Cape, who says :

One of the happiest weeks I ever spent was that during which he paid his first official visit to Clanwilliam, of which I was Rector. Next to the Sunday Services, the chief events of the week were the Confirmation on the Wednesday evening, and on Thursday morning the First Communion of the newly confirmed, when they had the happiness of receiving the Blessed Sacrament at their Bishop’s hands. Each evening, except Wednesday and Friday, some of the parishioners came to dine with the Bishop at the Rectory ; but it should also be said that the parishioners, at their own special wish, made him their guest during his stay, and sent all kinds of gifts to the Rectory day by day for this purpose. Though he spent much of each morning in answering the letters which every post brought, he inspected both the Schools ; and every afternoon, except Wednesday and Friday, when he was “At Home” at the Rectory, he went from house to house to visit the people in and near the village. In these different ways he was brought into intimate contact with all, and before the end of the week knew every man, woman, and child in the little place.

This first visitation of Clanwilliam was no less refreshing and stimulating to the Rector than to the parishioners, and was but a pattern of many another visitation both here and elsewhere during his long episcopate. As he was endowed with the royal gift of never forgetting a face he had once seen, and could always remember some circumstance of interest connected with each, these visits created a bond between him and the Church folk throughout the Diocese which grew stronger year by year. He knew both his Clergy and their people, and they knew him. He knew their joys and sorrows ; and all felt that he cared personally for them. In times of distress or suffering a letter from the Bishop was sure to come, a letter full of loving sympathy, and bringing words of comfort that strengthened and helped them to bear their burden. And he was equally ready to rejoice with any who were gladdened by some unwonted joy. This personal intimacy and fellow-feeling was one of the most helpful results of his visitations, not by any means the sole result, but certainly one of the happiest and most fruitful.

Dr. W. M. Cameron, the friend of Dr. Gibson, and his successor as Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, dwells specially

upon the Archbishop's power of leadership and upon the perfect courtesy with which that power was exercised.

The Archbishop always struck me as pre-eminently an ἀναξάνδρῳν. This was by no means solely because of his physical stature ; for the South African Bishops in 1883, when I first saw him, were almost all tall men, though he towered above the rest. Nor again was it simply the effect produced by the musical and sonorous tones of his voice, tones which, even after the strain of years and exertion had begun to tell upon them, were still remarkable. The impression was due rather to that keen mind and business-like faculty of concentration which enabled him to guide and control a great assembly, such as a Provincial Synod. He could sum up a long debate in a few clear sentences that brought the point at issue distinctly home to the mind of each member of Synod before he had to vote ; and in the course of the preceding debate the Archbishop would listen with a truly royal courtesy to the arguments of even the youngest member, and would give as ready a consideration to them as to those of the most practised debater or of the most learned canonist.

He showed an equal courtesy whether in his own house at Bishops court, where he was the kindest and most genial of hosts, or in any chance meeting in the street with one of his Clergy, or with some layman from an up-country town, who was sure to be greeted by him with unerring recognition and with a hearty word of good cheer.

I remember also how in August 1883, when he had undertaken the journey, long and toilsome as indeed it then was, to Umtata, to consecrate Bransby Lewis Key among his own people, he manifested the keenest interest in all our work, and how, after listening to them with courteous gravity and patience on the stoep of the Bishop's house, he gave an appropriate answer to the deputation of native Churchmen, who had come to assure him, in Kafir fashion, that while they thanked him for his visit, and welcomed the choice and consecration of "U-Key" to be their Coadjutor Bishop, they had no complaint to make against their venerated Diocesan, Dr. Callaway.

To myself personally, when entering upon the solemn responsibilities of the Episcopate, it was an immense support to know that I should have the privilege of working under one to whom, while doing my best to lighten his labours, I could look up with reverence, not only because of his years and long experience, but still more because of his lovable character, as to a true Father in God. It will be to me a never-failing regret that the exigencies of the work, which I found awaiting me upon my Consecration, called me at once away from him ; so that, though I trust I may have relieved him from some amount of anxiety, yet only very seldom was I able

to diminish, to any appreciable extent, the other burdens of his daily life.

What the Coadjutor Bishop here says, both of the Archbishop's power and of his courtesy in Synod, is remarkably corroborated by some words of the Ven. A. T. Wirgman, Archdeacon of Port Elizabeth, who soon after the Archbishop's death wrote of him thus :

It is difficult to say too much of the late Archbishop's gifts as the President of the Provincial Synod. He had strong convictions and was naturally inclined to be eager in expressing them, and somewhat impatient of captious opposition. But he repressed himself with the patience and judicial balance of a judge, and allowed in debate the utmost latitude that was consonant with the rules of order.

None who heard it will ever forget an incident of one of the earlier Provincial Synods. A Lay Representative, who was a member of the Cape House of Assembly,¹ rose to a point of order which involved an immediate ruling from the chair. The Archbishop promptly decided the point, and the Lay Representative rose again to question his ruling. The Archbishop called him to order, and reduced him to silence. We all thought he had acted with admirable decision.

Next morning, after the minutes had been confirmed, the Archbishop rose to make a personal statement. He said that he had taken counsel with the Speaker of the House of Assembly, with regard to his ruling on the point of order on the previous day, and that the Speaker agreed with his ruling, as he felt sure that he would do. "But," he proceeded, "I wish to apologize to the member in question, and to the Synod, for my manner in giving the ruling. I feel that I was too peremptory in my speech, and that I betrayed impatience in my manner." There was a silent pause. We all felt that our President showed his strength by this act of humility. It made a profound impression upon the Synod. And the Layman to whom he referred forthwith rose in his place, and expressed his sorrow at having tried the President's patience, frankly owning that he had been in the wrong.

Of the Archbishop's courtesy and hospitality in his own home something has been said in a previous chapter. Mrs. Deane, who, as Miss Grace Batchelder, had often been a guest at Bishopscourt, writes the following description :

When I first went out to Capetown in 1898, a friend gave me

¹ The Lower House in the then Parliament of Cape Colony.

an introduction to the Archbishop and Mrs. West Jones, and said to me, "I have written about you to the Archbishop, *and you will be all right.*" And so, indeed, I was ! The friendship I found at Bishops-court, and my frequent visits to that lovely home, were the greatest happiness in my life at the Cape.

Dear Bishops-court ! How distinctly I remember the first time I saw it ; the drive up the stately avenue, which I afterwards learnt to know so well ; the sight of the pear-blossom breaking into view at the end of it, in the old-fashioned garden, where flowers and fruit vied with each other in giving the world of their best ; and then, at the end, the warm greeting from his Grace and Mrs. West Jones.

Imagine my delight when, shortly afterwards, I received an invitation from them to spend my Christmas at Bishops-court. Was there ever anything more delicately thoughtful towards a stranger in a strange land ? And I recollect how pleased the Archbishop was, because I remarked that it was "just like being at home."

Bishops-court was of all houses the most charming to visit, for host and hostess studied the several tastes and inclinations of their guests, and did all they could to make each happy. There were quantities of excellent books everywhere ; the newest papers and magazines always at hand ; delightful walks ; the garden to wonder at and revel in ; the best of conversation ; and such interesting people staying in the house, or coming to and fro. These were, indeed, days never to be forgotten.

Whatever the Archbishop did, he put his whole heart into it at the time, and this, I think, was largely the secret of his great charm. When he was talking to any one, he made that person feel that, for the moment, he or she was his one interest in life. And so, again, his heart was in his work or in his recreation, whichever it might be. I shall never forget how much he enjoyed the cricket match that Christmas time between Lord Hawke's English team and the Western Province, or the Easter matches, to which I went with him later on. He was equally keen in all games in which he took part himself, and was always pleased to win, and his joyous eagerness was infectious, and made one anxious to do one's very best.

Music was a great pleasure and resource to him. He must have had a wonderful voice himself in early days. Even when I first knew him he would occasionally sing, whilst all of us remember the rich timbre of his speaking voice, and how beautifully he used it. I can see him now, as he would sit after dinner in his own particular chair in the drawing-room, whilst I played on the piano for an hour or more. He would often have his own book, and yet be enjoying the music all the time, and moving his head to the rhythm. Of pianoforte music he loved the old classics : Beethoven, Schubert, and Mendelssohn were his favourites. But, with his typical delight in modern life, he was always ready to be introduced to later and newer

works. He was particularly fond of the "Pilgrims' Chorus" and excerpts from Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, and never wearied of them. He was also much interested in Oratorios and Church music, and simply splendid in his knowledge of hymnology. I am sure that his familiar figure and kindly face must be greatly missed at all concerts in Capetown, which he liberally supported, and attended whenever possible.

Astronomy, too, had its attraction for him ; and we sometimes went out upon the verandah after dinner to watch the constellations rise, or to see them set behind Table Mountain. And what a glorious view that was over the magnificent line of fir-trees, and far onwards away to the top of the Devil's Peak ! As I was new to the Southern hemisphere, he was kind enough to point out to me many of the stars and their relative positions, and so clearly that I have never forgotten them.

I think that the Archbishop will be remembered much by his "faithfulness in little things"—all those small details which go to make life pleasant. He liked to recollect and mark birthdays and other anniversaries, to give wedding presents, and to do all sorts of little, charming, unexpected acts of friendliness. He never omitted to answer a letter, either personally or by deputy, and I believe that he really enjoyed being asked to do kindnesses, if he had not already discovered his own way first. In more important matters he was ever ready to give advice and sympathy. Everyone who knew him loved him. And no wonder !

Again another picture of the same hospitable home from a different hand. Father Congreve, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, says :

When I went first to Capetown in 1893 for nine months, in temporary charge of St. Philip's Mission, I found that the Archbishop, or the Bishop as he was then styled, at once remembered what he might well have forgotten, that, as an undergraduate, he had met me, when I was Deacon and Assistant Curate of the Parish Church, Warminster, and his brother's guest on Sundays at Portway House. I remembered distinctly the tall and grave undergraduate, but I was surprised and cheered by his more than merely courteous recognition of me after so many years. The voyage had left me somewhat out of gear, and he pressed me to go to recruit at Bishops-court. And that visit led to others ; so that during the five years of my second visit, 1899-1904, Bishops-court with its peace, with its sunshine and shady woods, and with the murmur of the stream running down from Table Mountain past the lawn and under the oaks, has left on my mind sacred impressions, such as generally the home of one's childhood can alone create.

I remember especially one early drive with him from Bishops-

court to Claremont, where he was to celebrate the Holy Communion on a weekday morning, in the Rector's absence. We drove in strict silence through the woods, just as the sun had risen, and was sending strange shafts of sunlight far into the shadows of the pine forest. The scene and the silent drive made a "Praeparatio ad Missam" not to be forgotten.

At Bishopscourt the expatriated Missionary, the overworked Parish Priest, and the Sister of Mercy, worn out with the long strain of term time in St. Cyprian's High School, so often used to discover their own country once more, and home and holiday indeed. Important persons were often received there too, and grave matters were considered; but we, the unimportant folk, never found our smaller concerns forgotten, however anxious the time might be. His Grace would remember, and give our small affairs his whole attention, and make opportunity somehow to enter with genial kindness into our difficulties one by one. On a day spent at home, the Archbishop, after long hours of letter-writing, liked to take his visitor for a walk in his woods, conversing as he went on the affairs of the Church, or on the political questions of the day. And then he would be sure to remark affectionately on the noble pine trees, and point out the devastation wrought by some forest fire, kindled by an unknown incendiary. Or he would answer a question about any flowering shrub or plant we happened to come across; for all material things interested him—the botany, the fauna, the rainfall of the Cape—all interested, but never absorbed, him. Next he would draw out his companion's personal interests, his hopes and his plans, the difficulties in his work, or whatever might be in his mind, and so leave him in the end cheered by sympathy and fortified by wise counsels.

But the same visitor exploring by himself at other hours, as he pleased, the wonderful garden, or reading under the trees, or following the stream towards its source in the mountain, would know that, while he was enjoying his unlimited leisure in a world like that described in *Paradise Lost*, in his Grace's study a hard day's work was going on. One soon learnt that no business was dealt with off-hand or slackly. In this was shown the Archbishop's never-failing sense of a sacred charge and responsibility, as well as his sense of justice and courtesy. For instance, one of the parochial Clergy, whom he was accustomed to treat with much kindness, was presented to him by a brother Clergyman for preaching heterodoxy in the Cathedral. The preacher at once received a short letter from the Diocesan, informing him of the charge made against him, and desiring him to send a copy of the sermon complained of. It turned out to be a matter of simple misunderstanding, and the charge was withdrawn by the complainant with a friendly apology. I only mention the incident, because I was impressed by the Archbishop's

direct and serious way of dealing with it. The charge, as made, was grave. He would not, on any consideration, let it pass without serious examination. But he would give the person accused the fullest opportunity of clearing himself. And he would not end the matter till he could bring the two parties to mutual understanding and friendly accord.

We felt, besides, that all the solid work for the Church transacted at Bishopscourt, all its hospitality, the extraordinary beauty of the surroundings, the genial homeliness and dignity of the house—everything in fact—either grew out of, or was linked on to, the Religion of the place. The Holy Eucharist, and the daily Matins and Evensong in the private Chapel, gave to each day its stamp and character. And that old Dutch mansion, now converted into the episcopal residence, gave up one of its wings, originally built for the farm-slaves' quarters, to be a Mission School, and the murmur of the classes might be heard from the Archbishop's front door. At play-time the coloured children of this school appropriated the stately space under the oak trees in the courtyard as their playground. To me this was always a delightful sight. It seemed so well to symbolize the change which the Church is bringing about in South Africa. Not merely had slavery been abolished for ever, but the very slave-quarters had become a Mission School; and here was one of those highest in dignity in the land cherishing and educating almost under his own roof the children of his coloured servants, tenants, and poorer neighbours.

Father Congreve also mentions that the Archbishop once recounted to him the whole story of the appeal on the part of the Ethiopian Christians to the Bishops of the Province for reception into the Church, and what struck him was

the sincere and deep conviction which the Archbishop expressed to me as to the duty of the Church of Christ to the Child Races, and the courage with which he thought it right to face whatever difficulties and risks such responsibilities might involve.

He recalls the Archbishop's "affectionate interest in the congregations of the Capetown Native Mission under the charge of the Cowley Fathers"; and then of his personal influence he says:

The Archbishop's genial welcome to all the Lay members of his flock, wherever he met them, was always encouraging and edifying. He seemed never to forget those with whom he had once come in contact. Military men, I observed, were wont to have an affectionate and profound respect for the Archbishop. They recognized instinctively the personal reality and dignity of his character. For instance,

during the South African War I remember sitting at tea one afternoon with several wounded officers sent down from the front to the Wynberg Military Hospital, when the good Archbishop lifted the flap of the tent, and came in to visit and cheer his sons with the knowledge of his sympathy for their sufferings and his regard for their profession. In return there was, on their part, something like enthusiasm in their respect for this Chief Pastor.

It was charming to see him preside at the annual prize-day dramatic entertainment given by the children of St. Michael's Home, or at the Annual Festival for the girls at the Leliebloem House of Mercy, two of the institutions under the charge of the All Saints' Sisters. On these occasions he made us forget for a moment the Archbishop and Prince of the Church, while, as their Pastor and the Father of Christ's Family, he entered with all his heart into the children's or young girls' pleasures. Just in the same way elsewhere, in the improvement of other children and in their happiness at any school festival he recognized always with genuine delight the Blessing of God.

But when circumstances demanded it, as when he presided at the Synods of the Province or of the Diocese, no claim of his high office, as a Ruler of the Church, was declined, no responsibility on his part evaded. Yet, even at such times of solemnity and importance, times of great personal strain in mind and body, as they could not fail to be, the gentler side of his character was never obscured, but would appear in some act or word of gracious consideration, or grateful approval, or even of personal apology.

I like to remember him also kneeling near the Altar of his own Cathedral to receive with the congregation the preacher's blessing from such a man as, for instance, his venerable friend, the Bishop of Derry, Dr. William Alexander, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh.¹

Allusion has been made more than once to the Archbishop's wonderful faculty for attracting children and making them feel at home with him.

A lady who used to live at Bredasdorp, writing of a time some thirty years ago, says :

My recollections of his exceedingly kind, affable, and cheery ways towards all who were presented to him at my father's house, and of his delightfully winning manner with children and young people, are

¹ Dr. Alexander came to the Cape in 1893 for the wedding of his daughter. "He is a most charming old man," wrote the Metropolitan on August 9 of that year, "with a beautiful childlike face, which hardly makes you expect to find in him such great intellectual power. Last Sunday he preached two very fine sermons in the Cathedral. The congregation was a huge one. He is to preach there again on Thursday afternoon to men of business before they leave town."

so distinct that the events of so many years back seem as if they had been indelibly engraven on my mind. As a child, I was charmed to listen to him, as he talked, and as he made observations on all he saw. He was so natural and enthusiastic, and showed such unfailing interest in everything.

She remembers the Metropolitan of South Africa, on one of his first visits to Bredasdorp, rushing out in the morning before breakfast to help the children to chase some turkeys out of the garden. At the children's bedtime, when he went to say "Good night," he remained laughing and talking with them, and pretending to frighten them by making great eyes at them, and was immensely amused when the baby of the family, on whose account some one had expressed anxiety, and feared that she really might be terrified, spoke up for herself and exclaimed, "*Of course*, me knows it is only the Bishop."

Mr. W. A. Morton, a layman of the Capetown Diocese, who had a small school in his own house, when he was farming at "Weltevreden" near Stanford in the Caledon district, relates that once, when the Archbishop had been staying with him on his visitation round, just as usual, and had gone to say good-bye to the children, he himself heard such shouts of laughter from the schoolroom that he went to see what was happening, and found the Archbishop pretending a long-shaped broom was a birch, and pursuing the children with it.

"Morton," said he on my appearance, "you should not allow the teacher to have such an instrument of torture." Then turning to the teacher, he said, "Please, give the children a holiday," which of course they got.

A sentence, written by a lady in her diary thirty-two years ago, records the delicate tenderness with which the Archbishop treated "a poor child who broke down in the French recitation and cried bitterly" at a prize-giving at All Saints' School, Wynberg, and consoled her before he went off elsewhere "to visit a friend in distress."

Others in different Dioceses have similar recollections which show how immediately and invariably children gave him their confidence. The Rev. A. P. Troughton, Canon

of Maritzburg Cathedral, and formerly Vicar of Estcourt, says :

The Archbishop came to us during a vacancy in the See of Natal, and just after a serious illness, which had caused some doubt whether he would be able to make the journey. Our Sunday School children met him at the railway station in procession and bearing a home-made banner with the inscription, "Thy God hath sent forth strength for thee." This touched him a good deal ; and he spoke so very nicely to them at the station, before coming across to the Vicarage.

As soon as he reached the house, and our own little ones came round him, he seized a small girl, and tossed her up to his shoulder. Another looked up and said, "I would like to be up there !" So of course she went too.

The Confirmation, for which he came, was fixed for 7.30 P.M., and, after we had finished our evening meal, the Archbishop retired to his room awhile. About five minutes before the hour, I went to bring him across to the Vestry, but he was not to be found. So I went through the house in search. Hearing voices in the nursery, where our little daughter was in bed, I went in ; and there was the dear Archbishop, bending over her cot to comfort her, as he had found her crying and saying, "I do so want to be confirmed too."

Here again is a particularly interesting account in which one, now herself a married woman and living in the Diocese of Bloemfontein, far away from the home of her childhood, recalls the vivid impression made upon her when she first saw him long years ago :

I was quite a tiny child of about four years old when he came to the little village of Fraserburg, where we lived. The Clergyman, the Rev. F. Greenwood, brought him to our home, and late one afternoon, when I had been out for a walk with my nurse, I ran into the house to look for my mother, and found her in the drawing-room. But I stood still in the doorway riveted to the spot, for the biggest man I had ever seen was sitting on the couch ! He must have noticed my startled look, for he took me up gently in his arms, and placed me beside him. I have never forgotten how comforted and *protected* I felt, with his big arm round me, as I nestled close to him, and looked up at his dear loving face, and realized that he was my friend. Thirty-five years have passed since that day, and yet it is as fresh in my memory as though it had happened yesterday.

My sisters and I were confirmed by him a few years later in the little village Church. Soon afterwards we moved away into another Diocese, and I never met him again. But it was wonderful to hear, during a recent visit to Capetown, that the good Archbishop had not

forgotten the small sisters, Ellen, Minnie, and Alice, whom he had confirmed in that little Karoo town, but recollected them years afterwards, when he saw a photograph of one of the three in the house of a friend who had known them. It was almost past understanding, how he could have remembered them amongst so many thousands confirmed by him during his long life. It is only another instance of his marvellous memory for faces, and of the personal interest he took in so many people.

Yet, for all his playfulness and gentleness with children, he had a gravity and dignity which commanded respect, and made it impossible for young or old to forget what was due to him. And for all his "graceful courtesy and genial kindness of manner," he could be, on occasion, not only grave but actually stern. Several persons speak of both tenderness and severity in him, and even associate them in the same sentence, as if the two qualities were naturally complementary to each other. "I did so miss the Archbishop," writes one not long after his death, "the tenderness of his voice . . . the sternness and tenderness of his Confirmation addresses." So a Priest in the Capetown Diocese, a man for whom by the way he had a very real respect and love, singles out this power to be severe as well as tender, as the particular characteristic, which he himself thinks specially worthy to be put on record.

The Archbishop had a wonderful power of speaking and writing very severely and straight about anything of which he did not approve. And then, when you met him a day or two afterwards, he would be as kindly and gentle as though he had never had reason to reprove you at all, nor would he even refer to the matter in any way.

I had always a wholesome dread of him, and felt that I could never take the slightest liberty with him. And yet, the more I knew him, the greater was my affection for him.

Another Priest, who had worked several years in the Diocese of Capetown, and had then been obliged to return to England on account of his wife's health, speaking to the Archbishop's Chaplain in the afternoon of the very day on which the Archbishop died, said :

"Do you remember how he came down upon me once in Synod?"

"Yes, quite well," said the Chaplain ; for it was a rather

unusually severe rebuke, and it would not have been surprising if the memory had rankled.

"But," said the Priest in question, "the best of it was, it never made any difference between us at all." And, indeed, he had himself given the clearest proof that it did not; for, since his return to England, and during the Archbishop's lifetime, he had come out once again to South Africa, at great personal inconvenience, to do some temporary work in the Diocese of Capetown. Oddly enough, too, as he himself humorously remarked at the time, he came out for that very work to which he had made such unfortunate allusion in the aforesaid Synod!

Most of the Archbishop's own Domestic Chaplains could probably recollect receiving several such salutary and half-playful reproaches, which did nothing whatever to destroy the abiding sense of his consideration and fatherly kindness. The present Archdeacon of London, the Ven. E. E. Holmes, says:

It is impossible to express in words what it was about the Archbishop which won such love and loyalty from all about him. Certainly one could stand more home-truths from him (and return the smile which invariably accompanied them) than from any other man. He often hit, but rarely hurt. And then, hard as he would hit you in the face, he would never let another stab you in the back. Perhaps this was one reason why we loved him so much. Anyhow, five years' close intimacy with him left an impression on my mind and life which I am only now beginning to understand.

Here is an example of the way in which he would prevent what the Archdeacon calls "stabbing in the back," and insist upon others dealing just as straightforwardly as he did himself. Serious insinuations had been made against the Rector of a large parish by two of its outlying Mission congregations, which had taken an unreasonable prejudice against him.

"One feels more and more," wrote the Archbishop to the Rector, "that they need a tight hand, and that they are very much inclined to be sensitive and suspicious, and to impute unjust motives in the case of any action which they dislike, or which disappoints them. I hope the discontent will soon settle down at both places. You will have noticed that the men who signed the letter from B—— (one of

the two places) did not wish me to show their letter to you. This seemed to me a very good reason for showing it. They will now have a very practical reason for doing as you mean to recommend them to do, *i.e.* coming to you before they come to me.

The last two sentences are very characteristic.

Another letter to this Rector gives the following wise and reassuring counsel to him under the same painful and trying circumstances.

I would most strongly advise you to possess your soul in patience, and not allow yourself to be fretted and worried by the stories which are being circulated, and the dissension which is being fostered. You will live it all down in the course of a week or two.

At the same time, in order that these credulous Mission people may be protected from further misrepresentations, I am sending a letter to the Churchwardens, requesting them to take whatever steps may seem best to remove from the minds of the Mission people, and of all others, the impression which has been made upon them by the falsehoods which have been circulated about you.

But let me again urge upon you the duty of throwing off this worry and anxiety, and of casting all your care upon God. It will all come right in time ; and you can afford to wait.

Towards gross or callous evil-doing the Archbishop's severity would be prompt and decisive, and, once witnessed, was not easily forgotten. He was drinking tea one afternoon with his Chaplain at a small table in a café in Adderley Street, Capetown, when a man in khaki, who belonged to some volunteer force, and who was sitting at another small table close by, used a filthy jest to the waitress attending him. When the Archbishop heard it, he promptly rose from his seat, took two steps out into the centre of the passage, turned right about, and, facing the man point-blank, delivered a few incisive words of plain-spoken rebuke, and then quietly came back, and sat down. The man, who was half intoxicated, stood up, and blustered a little. But the Archbishop had fully expressed his mind, and he did not intend to take the edge off what he had said by entering into any unseemly wrangle. After receiving a word or two of reaffirmation, with a hint of further proceedings, the man thought it wise to beat a retreat, leaving the Archbishop master of the situation.

Another time, in the course of dictating his usual morning

letters, the Archbishop began one, which for its measured severity seemed to his Chaplain, as he wrote it down, the very sternest and most awfully scathing thing of the kind he had ever seen. So deeply was he impressed, that he began to think the Archbishop, dictating so calmly and quietly, and not having the written words before his eyes, might possibly be unaware of the accumulated force of his own language, and at last he ventured to interpose with that suggestion. But he found the Archbishop was perfectly aware, and meant every word of it. "I know my man," was all he said, and continued his dictation. The letter was written to a husband, and had reference to some callous conduct or other towards his wife, who also herself was apparently to blame. To this day the Chaplain knows neither the names of the persons nor the circumstances of the case. But that deliberate heaping of clause upon clause of severity, all the more forcible because there was not, from first to last, a single word of invective, or even of ordinary reproach, is a very distinct recollection, and fixed for ever in his memory as long as he lives.

And yet the Archbishop often passed over with little or no notice a wrong done against himself. He once gave a person of good family, who had sunk into an idle, loafing life, and who was quite destitute, a letter to a friend, asking the friend to pay the man £5 or £6, charging it to his account. The man actually tried, by skilful misrepresentation, to get considerably more than the letter promised, thinking perhaps that the addition would be overlooked. The friend was suspicious, and referred the matter back to the Archbishop. Nothing had yet been paid, and many, after such a deliberate act of treachery, would have cancelled the original promise altogether. But the Archbishop did not. He simply wrote to the culprit, acquainting him with the discovery of his deceit, and expressing his surprise and regret, but he added that his promise still held good for the true amount, though for no more.

He had, it has been well said, "an ardent and affectionate nature, which brought with it an occasional hastiness of manner and openness of speech, where colder and more cautious natures would have been silent." Yet even in the

three last years of his life, while suffering from serious ill-health and the continual strain of very grave anxieties, the equanimity and self-control he had achieved were perfectly astonishing. It was touching also to observe how, during these years, in some cases which richly deserved sharper treatment, he was lenient—perhaps occasionally, in things which related to himself, too lenient. He knew well that his own life was very uncertain, and evidently desired—so long as it could be done without sacrifice of principle—to err rather on the side of leniency than on that of severity, as remembering that he himself might very soon have to stand before the Great Judge of all men. This same reverent and humble bent of mind appears in a letter written in 1902 to a Rector who had consulted him about a monumental inscription containing the words “Jesu, mercy.” “Personally,” he said, “I should like to have those words placed on my own grave-stone.”

Reference has been made in different parts of this book to the Archbishop's extraordinarily liberal contributions towards such things as the cost of the Appeal in the “Grahamstown case,” the purchase of the Church House at Capetown, the building of the House of Mercy at Leliebloem, of All Saints' Home, Capetown, of the New Cathedral at Capetown, and of that at Umtata. But such things, even with the addition of his regular annual subscriptions to different objects, were very far from exhausting his munificence. Privately he was continually giving, wherever Province or Diocese, parish or individual, had need. Much of his liberality cannot be known, nor is it good that it should be. But some few examples may be given, which will show what manner of man he was. One of his former Assistant Curates at Summertown says:

He had to find my stipend out of his own pocket, or very nearly so. He applied for, and got, a grant of £20 per annum from the Diocesan Spiritual Aid Society. He then said, “S——, we'll share this. You shall have £10 more a year, and I the other £10 to help me towards what I pay you already.”

Some thirty-five years later a Priest of the Capetown Diocese was moving to a new post in a distant parish.

"I met his Grace," he writes, "in Capetown on my way to —. He asked me what it cost me to move. I told him, and added that the amount was more than covered by the kind gifts of my late parishioners. 'Oh, it won't do to spend all your money like that,' he said. 'Your future parishioners may or may not do something towards your travelling'—they did nothing, as it proved—but here is £10.'"

Another Priest says :

He was visiting my parish, and together we called on a lady, who had just lost her husband, and knew that she would have a hard struggle to bring up her children. When we left the house he said, "I want to go to the Bank." He cashed a cheque, and asked for a £5 note. A few days later the lady said to me, "I have had such a pleasant surprise. Some one has sent me a five-pound note, without any name in the letter." I said nothing, but it was not hard to guess who the sender was.

His benefactions to the Diocesan College and its junior department, the Diocesan College School, were particularly generous. When in the year 1886 it was decided to transfer the junior department of the College from Rondebosch to Claremont, and, by amalgamation with St. Saviour's Grammar School, to make one strong Diocesan College School, the Archbishop purchased the Grove House, or "Feldhausen," Claremont, and the land just round it, and presented the whole to the Diocesan College Council for the School as a free gift, allowing the boys also the use of the two large adjoining meadows for playing-fields. These meadows he also gave to the Diocesan College some years later, hoping, though in this he was disappointed, that others with larger means might be induced to follow his example, and so assist the College, which was in sore need of funds for necessary development. The worth of his gift may be judged from the fact that, when in 1901 it was found advisable to move the College School from Claremont to a site upon the College grounds at Rondebosch, the house, school, and about four-fifths of the land at Claremont, where property had greatly risen in value, were sold for some £17,000, enough to pay for the building of the new School, Schoolhouse, etc., at Rondebosch. The Archbishop may therefore be justly considered almost as great a benefactor of the Diocesan College as was its first founder, Robert Gray.

The conclusion which most persons draw from any record of such open-handed giving is that the giver must be a wealthy man. This was far from being the case with the Archbishop. His official income averaged about £700 a year, upon which the stipend of his Chaplain, extensive repairs of the house at Bishops court, the cost of his long visitation journeys, and the printing and postage connected with his official position, were all a very heavy drain. Nor had he extensive private means. His liberality was only rendered possible by his fixed rule of giving a tenth *and upwards* of all his income, by his practice of giving away the larger part at least of any extra amounts he received by legacy or otherwise, and by his extraordinarily simple and unpretentious personal life.

His friendly and sympathetic character manifested itself in many ways and to many persons in every rank and position in life, from the Governor of Cape Colony and High-Commissioner for South Africa downwards. Amongst successive Governors, all of whom were his friends, those with whom he was most specially intimate were Sir Henry Barkly, who was Governor when he first landed, Sir Bartle Frere, and Sir Henry Loch (afterwards Lord Loch). And he kept in touch with these and other old friends, and their relatives, with extraordinary faithfulness.

As late as March 10, 1907, to Lady Barkly, Sir Henry Barkly's widow, he wrote :

Nearly thirty-three years have now passed since we first met, and since I received with my dear old Sister (now at rest) your kind and cordial hospitality. I can scarcely believe it is so long ago : and yet how very much *in every way* has happened since then. It is almost another world now.

On Sir Bartle Frere's recall in 1880, writing to Miss J. A. Jones, his eldest sister, he speaks of him in the warmest and most affectionate terms :

Whether his policy was wise or not, is a matter of opinion. On *some* points I myself could not agree with it. But of one thing I am sure, that a more upright, humane, conscientious man never lived, and that all his action was based on a strong sense of duty, and on the firm conviction that he was acting for the best interests of the Colony, and of England too, and in the long run even of the native

tribes themselves. . . . To me personally his departure is an irreparable loss. I had learnt to love and to respect him in a way in which I have seldom loved and respected any one else.

And the Dowager Lady Loch recalls what an exceedingly kind personal friend he was to the late Lord Loch and to herself during the five and a half years that her husband was Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa ; how generously considerate he showed himself in undertaking at different times, in the midst of all his other work, to prepare each of their two daughters in turn for Confirmation ; how deep an interest he used always to display in any public questions which concerned the people of South Africa, whether white, coloured, or native ; and how constant were his kindnesses to those in sickness or in trouble of any sort.

Mr. Villiers Harris, who was then churchwarden of St. James', Worcester, Cape Colony, remembers going round with him in 1874 to visit the scattered members of the Church congregation in Worcester, and being much struck, when in answer to the question whether he would care to see the coloured people in their own homes as well as others, he replied :

Dear Harris, if I could only say a few kind words to each and all of our flock, independent of colour, I should only be too glad.

A lady fresh from England, describing her first experiences at Bishopscourt, says :

I had such a pleasant Sunday, and in the afternoon I saw a wonderful sight. In the little Chapel in the woods (it was indeed very small then) the Metropolitan of South Africa was taking a Service, and preaching to about twenty coloured people.

A layman remembers seeing the Archbishop on a Good Friday conducting a Service in the volunteer camp on the Camp Ground at Rondebosch. Amongst those who grouped themselves round him by way of choir was one of the trumpeters of Prince Alfred's Own Cape Volunteer Artillery, who was leading treble in the choir of St. John's Church, Capetown. He and the Archbishop shared the same hymn-book, and when he got a little out of time, the Archbishop beat time on his shoulder. "It was quite a

picturesque sight, the tall prelate in his robes and the lad in the blue uniform of the P.A.O.C.V.A., and the rhythmical rise and fall of the lawn sleeves on the shoulder-strap of the uniform."

The same layman has another story of a hot Sunday in one of the summer months of the year 1907. The Archbishop had been preaching in the Cathedral, and was leaving Capetown by the 1.5 P.M. train. So were a party of the Cathedral choir boys, and they had taken off their Eton jackets, and had hung them round the compartment in any convenient place. The Archbishop, as he came along the platform, looked in, and threatened jocosely to bring the lads before an Ecclesiastical Court. "For wearing Bishop's sleeves, my Lord?" asked one of the Cathedral officials who was with them. "No, they are not puffy enough," returned the Archbishop with a genial laugh.

At an up-country place he was on the point of leaving at 6.30 A.M. one winter morning by Cape cart, when three of the girls whom he had confirmed came to say "Good-bye." The thought in his hostess' mind, as she herself put it, was, "Oh, bother those girls!" But he said at once, "How very nice of you to come to see me off."

"It was this ever-present and gracious kindliness," is the comment of a friend, "which touched our hearts so much and made us think of the love of Christ. He was naturally kind, but he took trouble to be kinder still."

Another, speaking of the same gracious charm of manner, says :

He had only to smile at you, and put his hand on your shoulder, and what a joy it then was to help him in any way he wished.

Two little instances of his wonderful power of recollecting persons and faces may be added to those which have been mentioned elsewhere.

At Karmelks River in the Caledon parish on his second or third visit he asked particularly after several of the coloured servants by name, remembering them from his previous visit two years before. Again, the youngest daughter of an European family in the parish of Knysna, in the distant south-east part of the Diocese, was brought to Bishopscourt

by some friends, who asked the Archbishop, "Do you know her?" His reply was, "I know her face, and shall soon remember her name." In another moment he exclaimed, "Arkie's sister," Arkie being the pet name of her much-loved eldest brother, Archibald Duthie, who died of wounds received in the South African War.

When Madame Albani came out to the Cape in 1899, the Archbishop commended to her notice a young lady friend of his in South Africa, who had great musical talent. She could not visit her then; but, on her second tour in South Africa in 1904, she showed that she had not forgotten.

"I was very glad," wrote the Archbishop in that year, "that you saw Madame Albani, and that she called on you of her own accord. It was thoughtful of her to remember what I said to her five years ago. She must have a retentive memory; and it is good when such a memory takes that particular form."

Madame Albani's own recollection of the Archbishop was a very pleasant one. She wrote herself to this lady on April 20, 1904, saying:

Last Saturday I went to tea with the dear Archbishop and Mrs. Jones, your friends. I was perfectly delighted again with the lovely drive, and the dear old house, and with them. They were kindness itself. . . . He has now gone to the island of the lepers for three days, to confirm some, and to comfort them too. What a beautiful work, and how fit he is to do it!

Mr. J. D. Coley, formerly Classical Master at the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, says that the Archbishop frequently came to visit and cheer him, when he was recovering from illness during the Christmas vacation in 1877:

He would often have a game of chess with me, and he would bring me peaches from his garden at Bishops court, besides doing me many other acts of kindness. At a later date when, owing to deafness, I had to resign my mastership, it was he who at once used his influence to get me a post in the Civil Service. Although the change in many respects did not prove a beneficial one, yet he, of course, could not have foreseen that, and I shall always cherish a grateful recollection of the exceeding kindness that he displayed on my behalf.

The following is from another, who was Assistant Master

at the Diocesan College in more recent years, the Rev. R. C. Mugliston :

I can speak of the Archbishop, as one ordained Deacon by him, and under, perhaps, unusual circumstances. I was engaged in England for the Diocesan College, and as I was to be ordained to a Chaplaincy there, I had to go through the ordeal of an examination, which began, as my steamer was a day late, the very day after my arrival. What struck me then, and what I still remember most vividly, was the great kindness of the Archbishop when I was taken to Bishops court after my landing, and on the next three days, which were those of my examination. A shy, awkward stranger, just removed 6000 miles from England, I saw at once that here was a man, my Chief Pastor, who had been looking out for me, and was eager to welcome me, and to make me feel at home. While I had given, I fear, but scanty thought to the spiritual side of my new experiences, I found that he had mapped it all out, and had already arranged that I should go into a brief Retreat in the following week. Bishops court being quite full, I did not stay in the house during the examination, but I spent most of each day there ; and I remember how the Archbishop was always ready, in the intervals of work, to walk with me, or to sit with me in the garden, or even to go with me part of the way back to Claremont. And I always remember that he said, "Now, I am to be your father in Christ ; and I will be a father to you, if you will let me." And I remember still more vividly the tones of his voice, as he said in the vestry, immediately after my Ordination, "God bless you, my dear boy."

I was never, of course, afterwards brought into the same close and intimate relation to him. But though long periods often elapsed between my opportunities of speaking to him, I found, somewhat to my surprise, that he always knew me at once, and all about me.

Of his intense interest in each department of the Diocesan College and College School, others will no doubt speak. I remember he told me that nothing so moved him as a Confirmation at our College or at St. Cyprian's, and he showed to an astonishing extent a personal interest in each boy. He always seemed, in his visitations or otherwise, to have met their parents or their friends, and when once he had seen the boys, he never forgot them on succeeding visits to the College.

It is perhaps a tribute to the strength of his personality that on one occasion, when I was doubting about accepting an offer of some work at Clanwilliam, during the College holidays, and had indeed declined, I met him at Claremont station, and when he said, not knowing that I had refused, "I suppose you couldn't go to Clanwilliam for me ?" I said at once, "Yes, your Grace, I could," and went.

As an instance of his sense of humour, I recollect a scene at our College sports, at which, whether he gave the prizes or not, he was always expected to make a speech, an expectation to which he demurred. On this occasion some one else gave the prizes, and when that was done, we waited for the Archbishop's "few words." He rose and said, "And now it falls to me to say a few words; and they are these, 'Let's all go home.'" And so we did.

Miss Battye, the much-respected Lady Superintendent of St. George's Orphanage, dwells upon his

unfailing recollection of individual teachers and girls, which won for him the genuine affection of the whole family, while the kind manner, and the hearty hand-shake, which accompanied the bestowal of a prize, or the well-chosen words of congratulation spoken to the winner of the silver medal, given for three years' good service in one situation, greatly enhanced their value. So personal was the feeling of affection for his Grace, that it was no uncommon thing for one of the young teachers to come home proud of the mere fact that she had herself seen the Archbishop in the street in Capetown that day.

The Archbishop's Chaplain once witnessed for himself in Adderley Street a manifest expression of just such a simple and natural joy. The Archbishop had arrived by a suburban train, and was walking up from the station, when he overtook the Coadjutor Bishop, and, as he had something special to say to him, the two walked on together in earnest conversation, the Chaplain following a few paces behind, carrying a small black bag with papers. Presently the Chaplain passed an old coloured woman with a white "dookie," or handkerchief, on her head, evidently just in from the country to do her shopping, and a perfect stranger to him. As he came up to her, she said to him, pointing to the Archbishop just in front, and a look of absolute delight beaming all over her dear old, wrinkled, brown face, "*He* confirmed me!"

Adderley Street recalls also an instance of the Archbishop's boyish spirits. Various important papers have to be handed in whenever the Bishops of the Province of South Africa, or their duly accredited representatives, meet for a "Court of Confirmation" to confirm the election of a new Bishop. In one case, up to the very day upon which the Court was to sit, the papers were not forthcoming. It would be

decidedly awkward, if they could not be produced. The Court must then adjourn, and perhaps the Consecration of the Bishop-Elect must be deferred. But the Archbishop calling that morning at the General Post Office, found that the documents, under cover addressed to himself, had just arrived in the mail from England. Emerging from the Post Office, he caught sight of the Archdeacon of the Cape, or some other dignitary, far away on the other side of the broad street, and, in the joyousness of his heart and the excitement of the moment, he hailed him by name with a shout, and a cry of "Hurrah!", waving the missing documents high in the air. "People must have thought I had gone off my head," was his own comment afterwards.

Miss Battye says that it was a great solace and encouragement to her and to her fellow-workers at the Orphanage to know that every Thursday the Archbishop remembered them all in his special private intercessions. And to this habit of regular intercession for persons and institutions by name, must be traced the reality and depth of that fatherly remembrance and sympathy, of which so much has been said, and for which so many persons will always be profoundly grateful to him. Occasionally, though very seldom, he would tell some person to whom he was writing, "I have your name on my list of intercessions." But whether he mentioned it or not, this was his constant practice, which some may like to know and to imitate; and the sick, the sorrowful, the dying, and those in any other affliction, or in the stress of temptation, all had their place in that list, and the long line of light under his door, after others had gone to bed at night, meant that those intercessions were being made on behalf of his people by their friend and Father in Christ.

His letters of consolation were extraordinarily simple and beautiful. If he dictated them, as he sometimes did, the very tone of his voice would change, and the sentences would come slowly and steadily with the finest choice of the most expressive words, and with the most truly consolatory thoughts to suit the particular case. In the nature of things, such letters were usually of too private a character to be read by any except those for whom they were specially

intended. But here is one which may stand as a worthy example of so many more :

*From the Bishop of Capetown to Mrs. Ashburnham.*¹

WARMINSTER, November 28, 1888.

MY DEAR MRS. ASHBURNHAM—The dreadful news of your dear husband's very sudden death, away from home, and, I fear, from all his friends, has just reached me. I hasten to send you a few words of most sincere and affectionate sympathy from my wife and myself.

I do not know when I have received any news which more startled and pained me. I cannot but feel that I have lost one of the truest of my friends, and one of the wisest and most experienced of all those advisers in Church matters whom I have had at the Cape. By the Diocese and the Province, to which he has rendered the most valuable service in many ways, he will be almost as much missed, and mourned for, as by myself. And if this is so with us, what must the grief and the loss be to yourself and to your children? Nothing can ever repair it. But God's Love and Fatherly Kindness, and the Human Sympathy of our dear Lord, can do a great deal to soothe and support you, and to pour balm and healing into the wounded spirit. May He be to you, all He would desire to be ; and may you have the strength and power absolutely to resign your will into His all-merciful Hands !

The intercessions of many will help to support you ; and of these you may rest confidently assured : but *His* Sympathy is the best.—
Your affectionate Father in Christ, W. W. CAPETOWN.

A letter of consolation to one of his Clergy may also be quoted :

Your telegram yesterday was quite a shock to me. Of course I knew that your dear mother had been very ill, but I had hoped that the worst was over, and that she was rallying. *Deo aliter visum*. His Will be done ! She has done her work in life, and it has been a noble and saintly life ; and now she has gone to receive her reward, first in Paradise, and then in Heaven. God give courage and faith to you all to see in everything His Loving Hand. I feel very deeply for you yourself, because you had obtained your heart's desire at last, in having your mother by you, and I know how you loved her. And now the short-lived joy is over. But I feel even

¹ A daughter of the Right Rev. N. J. Merriman, D.D., third Bishop of Grahamstown. Her husband, John Woodgate Ashburnham, had been a Lay Representative for the Diocese of Grahamstown in the Provincial Synod of 1883, and had recently been elected to represent the Diocese of Capetown in the Provincial Synod of 1891.

more deeply for your poor dear sister, to whom her mother's removal must be a bitter sorrow, with a terrible blank left behind. But she too, I *know*, will have the grace to bear her distress submissively, and even joyfully, in the thought of her mother's joy. . . . I know she often pined for England, and perhaps she will now go back. But it will be a different thing altogether to be there without her mother, and alone in the world. Poor dear soul, I sorrow much for her. Give her my affectionate and fatherly love. . . .

The same Priest sends a letter of congratulation, "written," he says, "on the occasion of the well-nigh miraculous recovery of my wife. The Archbishop gave orders that during the most critical time a telegram should be sent to him daily as to her condition. It was perhaps the loving sympathy shown in such things as these that endeared him, as much as anything else, to his Clergy."

The letter runs :

I do indeed rejoice with you from the very depth of my heart. What a merciful recovery ! And now the freedom from anxiety about a second operation : and Dr. S——'s generosity. There is indeed cause for great thankfulness, and I am sure we all rejoice with your dear wife, and with all to whom she is so dear. *Laus Deo!* . . . Give my love to her, and my joyful congratulations. . . .

To his much-beloved Archdeacon of the Cape, the Ven. T. F. Lightfoot, he wrote thus on March 3, 1901 :

MY DEAR LIGHTFOOT—May God bless you to-morrow—on the seventieth anniversary of your birthday—and for many years to come, and preserve you long to the Diocese and to your thousands of friends in South Africa. I wish you, with all my heart, many happy returns of the day, and every good and dearest wish. You have always been so firm and so self-denying a friend to me for these twenty-six years and more, that if any one should express his love for you, I ought to do so. And so I do, and from the very depth of my heart. . . .—Your very loving old friend,

W. W. CAPETOWN.

Two years later, when the Archdeacon's wife was ill and paralysed, and a long time had passed without any sign of recovery, the Archbishop wrote to him from England :

I fear you must be still in very great anxiety about dear Mrs. Lightfoot. Your reports seem to show that she makes no real or permanent improvement, and that she is still very weak and helpless. This must greatly increase your anxiety, and make life

more fatiguing and sorrowful for you. But the knowledge that God's Love overshadows us, and rules all things, and turns to our good all the dispensations of sorrow and trouble, will keep you in good cheer. Many in all parts will be praying for you and for her; and prayers "avail much."

A small incident may be added, dating from the early part of the last complete year of the Archbishop's life. At that time there happened to be very dangerous illness simultaneously in two well-known families of Church people living in two different suburbs of Capetown. In one household several daughters were ill with typhoid fever, and the youngest for many weeks hung between life and death, the doctor himself sleeping eleven nights in the house. The other case was a widow's daughter, who was seized with sudden sickness within a few weeks of her wedding day, and she too was long in a critical state. The Archbishop had been preaching in Capetown Cathedral, and as he drove back homewards from the station he stopped to inquire at both houses. The news at the first house was so far satisfactory that the change for the better seemed to have begun. At the second house, the widow mother herself came out to speak to the Archbishop, very anxious, as she might well be, though brave and calm. Hearing, in reply to his questions that, though the crisis was not yet over, no worse symptoms had appeared, he spoke a few words of sympathy and comfort, quoted the good news from the other house, and then, leaning forward in the carriage, he said in that characteristic way of his, which those who knew it will remember, the full energy of his whole soul seeming to pour itself out in the deep tone and the measured earnestness of his voice :

"After to-day's Gospel"—it was the Gospel of two healings, the healing of the leper and the healing of the centurion's servant¹—"I feel very hopeful, very hopeful indeed."

To the members of the Church in the Mission stations of the Malmesbury parish he wrote, in 1904, the following letter, in acknowledgment of their remarkably generous contributions towards the Building Fund of the New Cathedral :

¹ Third Sunday after Epiphany. It is a happiness to record that the Archbishop's hopes and prayers were fully realized. In both households the recovery was complete, and Easter that year was radiant with the joy "as of a resurrection from the dead."

MY DEAR SONS AND DAUGHTERS IN CHRIST—I have heard of your liberal offerings towards the erection of our new Cathedral in Capetown, and I thank my God that He has put it into your hearts to show this zeal for His Glory and for the welfare and good name of His Church. You have given me much comfort and happiness, and the more so, because there are probably many of you who will never see the building completed, for which you have made your offering of love and faith. But it will not be forgotten in the book of God's Remembrance, and every deed of Faith and Love is stored up with Him, and will be rewarded in His own day. Perhaps the happiest thing of all to me is, that so many of the poor, like the widow woman of the Gospel, are giving so largely out of their poverty.

May God bless you, and give you "all joy and peace in believing."—Your affectionate Father in Christ,

W. W. CAPETOWN.

There was always a great longing in the Archbishop's heart, which expressed itself in several of his charges, to obtain workers for the Church in South Africa, from among her own sons and daughters born and bred in the land. To this constant insistence on the idea of vocation, and to the place that, of a certainty, it must have occupied in his prayers, a Deaconess in the Diocese of Capetown attributes her own discovery of the call to her life's work. It was an intense joy to him that the daughter of a Priest in his Diocese became a Sister of All Saints', and eventually the Mother General of the whole Community. He showed also the greatest thankfulness and delight, when, in response to an Encyclical from himself and the other Bishops of the Province, two sons of a Priest of his Diocese offered themselves as candidates for Ordination, an example followed later on by two of their brothers. "I am so rejoiced," he wrote to the father in reference to one of these four, "about H——, and that the Encyclical letter settled him in his purpose. Give him my best love, and tell him how happy he has made me." And to this son, by that time a Deacon, he wrote eight years later: "I had no idea till now, that any words of mine had led the way to your taking Holy Orders. I thank God for it."

He always, indeed, manifested great consideration for the very youngest of the Clergy.

Soon after his first arrival in South Africa, and before

his first Ordination in Capetown, a certain Deacon then staying at Bishops court for the examination for Priests' Orders was excessively dreading the result of the Greek Testament paper, and was much afraid he would not pass, and would have to go back to his parish still a Deacon, and discredited in the eyes of his parishioners. In one of the intervals between the papers, as he was walking up and down, very nervously, on the stoep at Bishops court, out came the Bishop, who had evidently divined what the state of things was, "and walked up and down by my side a few times, and then putting his hand on my shoulder, in the most fatherly way, he said, 'Don't worry, X ; your paper is all right.' I was at once released from all fear ; I fancy I did the two remaining papers much better than I should otherwise have done ; and I think I was almost bold, when I went before the Chapter for the concluding questions *viva voce*."

The elder Priests found the Archbishop equally accessible. "He was never too busy to receive any of the Clergy either at Bishops court or at the Church House, Capetown, whoever he might be, whether a newly ordained Deacon or some senior Priest of the Diocese." So wrote one of the seniors. And another, who went to see him about a very difficult personal matter, said afterwards :

I was prepared to be received with all kindness and courtesy. What I was altogether unprepared for, was the way in which the Archbishop at once laid bare for my assistance his own private custom and practice in such matters.

This courtesy and fatherliness extended itself to those cases where he had to exercise discipline and to administer any sort of rebuke.

In the early years of his Episcopate he had occasion to write to one of the oldest Bishops in the Province, about certain local difficulties, concerning which he thought the Bishop had shown a somewhat unreasonable spirit, and he concludes a long letter with these graceful words :

I am a comparatively young man, and you are an old one, and I hope you will feel assured that I have only ventured to say what I have said, partly because I felt my position (as Metropolitan) demanded my saying it, and partly because a son may be allowed to

urge upon his father a course which he feels essential to that father's happiness.

Thus also, in 1877, when he had thought it advisable to speak very plainly indeed to some rough miners in Namaqualand, he received afterwards a memorial, signed by some thirty or forty men, who thanked him warmly for all he had said or done, and especially for these outspoken words.

And a very remarkable testimony has been given to this wonderful tenderness and courtesy in rebuke, and from a quarter in which it would be least expected. Some while after the Archbishop's death, his Chaplain met a certain layman in a street in Capetown, who said, "I hear that you are writing a Life of the Archbishop." And he added, "You remember about me?" "Yes," said the Chaplain, for he remembered all the circumstances—a case of very grave sin on the part of two persons, of whom this man was one—"but of course I shall not mention anything about that." "But," he replied, "I wish you to mention it. No one could have spoken to me more like a father than the Archbishop did then. And I wish you to mention it." Yet the Archbishop's tenderness had been due to no want of perception of the gravity of the case. One of the two concerned was a personal friend of the Archbishop, and when he was first told of the circumstances in the vestry of a Parish Church, in his grief at the unexpected news, he simply leant his head on his hand and wept. Yet brought face to face with that man, upon whom he might well have considered himself justified in laying the greater amount of blame, he showed this extraordinary consideration for him, at the same time that he assigned to both persons a distinct and lengthy time of penance.

The following touching and beautiful letter refers to an entirely different case at quite another time, and in a distant part of the Diocese. It tells its own story, and reflects credit on the recipient as well as on the writer :

MY DEAR MR. — I have several times thought with profound grief of the scene last Friday, and have prayed that your heart might be softened, and that you might be led to see that you had acted hastily and without justification. I cannot but be thankful that my prayer has been heard. . . . You ask me to take you again

into my confidence, and to send you my blessing. This, my dear friend, I most readily and gladly do : and I shall not cease to pray for you, as I am sure you would wish me to do, that you may have grace given you to curb a naturally hasty temper, and to bring it little by little into subjection to the law of "the meekness and gentleness of Christ."

Lastly, if by anything I said on Friday, I needlessly wounded or grieved you, I beg your pardon, and God's, for it. My only desire was to point out to you that no one man, whatever his position in the parish, has the right to lay down rules and principles, which are to govern the performance of the Church Service.

May God bless you, and guide you, and strengthen your good resolves, and lead you more and more into the likeness of His dear Son.—Your faithful friend,

W. W. CAPETOWN.

How strongly the Archbishop influenced for good even the most unlikely persons is shown by a narrative sent by a business man, who himself had several times come across the Archbishop in the course of twenty-five years of frequent travelling in the western districts of Cape Colony.

"I only wish," says the narrator, "I could convey the tinge of tender earnestness with which the hardened man of the world told his tale, this old crony of mine, a man more inclined to shatter ideals than to form them. We met just after the Archbishop's death, and he began with the remark, 'So a giant has fallen in Israel,' and I wondered what was coming. Then he went on.

"'You know there was nothing small about the Bishop. Big and tall in body, he was bigger and sturdier in mind. I was drawn to him ; though I always tried to keep out of his way, for fear the placid comprehension, which looked out of those eyes of his, should read in mine how little my intellect and character were worth. So I was standoffish.

"'I remember a visit of his to a certain town, where I then resided, and where I occupied quarters with one of the younger Clergy of the Diocese, an earnest young fellow, but lacking in a most necessary element in a parson's life—experience. The young cleric asked his Lordship to our rooms for a cup of tea, and in order to palliate to his Bishop the fact of living with such a good-for-nothing as myself, he just hinted at the position, and followed up his statement with the words, "You see, my Lord, I have great hopes of converting B——" (that's myself). His Lordship, who was blessed with a wonderful memory, mindful of certain chance encounters we had had in former times, though they had escaped my recollection, replied, "Oh yes, a very good idea. But just watch, however, that B—— (that's myself, you know) doesn't convert you." That night

I remember the Bishop attended a social gathering of the coloured congregation, to which I had been induced to go, and one feature of which was a splendid rendering, by a talented amateur, of some of Chevalier's coster songs. Man ! I enjoyed myself, though I'm not Churchy. And so did the Bishop. It was good to be there, and so I told F——, the young cleric, when we got home afterwards. He, in his turn, frankly told me what the Bishop had said about my conversion. It flashed upon me in a moment that the young parson was safe from any sceptical assaults on my part ; for the fatherly care of his Bishop had surrounded him with a wall of sturdy belief that no doubts could either penetrate or undermine.

“‘The Bishop once came into my store with the Rector of the parish to make some small purchase, and whilst he was there, in came a farmer friend of mine whom I asked whether the long drought we were having was ever going to break. “Oh, yes,” said the farmer, “soon now. The geese flew high this morning. The upupa (hoopoe) gave his threefold call to his mate, ‘hoop-oo-oo.’ Rain is nigh.” When the farmer had finished, the Bishop stepped forward saying, “That seems a peculiar remark. Is that part of the folklore of the countryside?” I mentioned in reply the similarity of the belief in East Anglia, and hazarded the conjecture that both might be traced to a common stock, but I was obliged to confess that the state of the weather did not seem to indicate any justification for it at the time. Bright glorious skies of brass foretold, apparently, a continuation of the six months’ spell of drought. The Bishop left for a Confirmation to be held at a place some three hours’ journey distant, and it so happened that I did not see him again for three days ; for the rain fell so heavily, that an intervening and bridgeless river was in flood. I met him again at haphazard, and his greeting at once was, “Well, your Dutch friend knew more than we did of the observance of signs and seasons : for I got regularly drowned.” I thought the Bishop’s remarks showed a readiness to learn and to pick up information. Yes, the Bishop was very quick to apprehend, and nothing revealed this more than those courteously sympathetic traits, which disclosed that gravely tender character of his, a character binding men to him as with bands of steel. You know that I am not religious ; and yet he made me feel at those various times when I met him, that I was a member of his flock, although not of the Anglican Communion. The only occasion in six years that I visited a Church, for I am a dissenter from everything, it was to hear him preach. I only heard him once.

“‘In a time of great storm and stress I was involved in a fearful calamity. The Bishop must have noticed the report in the papers, for by the next post I received a letter from him, displaying in a few words the godlike sympathy of the man to a rank outsider. As sere leaves fall away from the trees, so my cares dropped away from me

at this manifestation of kindhearted, energetic solicitude on my behalf. Truly a great man is fallen to-day in Israel ; for " he went about doing good, for God was with him." I shall never forget him, while life lasts.' "

It was no wonder that the Archbishop, with his keen discernment of character, possessed " an almost unerring judgement in the choice of fit persons for different posts " ; whether, as Metropolitan, he had to propose, in case of delegation to the Bishops of the Province, a Bishop for a vacant See ; or whether, as Diocesan Bishop, he had to select a Priest to take charge of a particular parish, or else to discover who was best equipped with the necessary qualifications to preside over some important Diocesan institution.

Again, after he had passed to his rest, nothing was more remarkable than the universal witness to the strength of the affection between him and his Suffragans, the Bishops of the Province ; and between him and the Clergy and Laity, particularly those of his own Diocese. With extraordinary unanimity, all seemed to fix on fatherliness as his predominant characteristic.

" Yes, I loved him," wrote Dr. Carter, Bishop of Pretoria, since then himself Archbishop of Capetown. " He was always so really a Father in God to us all. And he was so universally kind to me, and gentle with me personally."

" I myself feel," said a layman, " as if I had lost the friend, the true, true friend of my life."

" You know," said another, a lawyer, " that I looked up to the Archbishop, as a son does to his Father."

" To me he was always a revelation of what a Father in God could be," said a Priest of his Diocese. " It always cheered and encouraged me to get a word from him, and a shake of the hand."

" Surely," wrote another, " there have been few Bishops—let alone Archbishops—who have ever become the personal friends of so many of their flock. It was very striking, how each one that spoke to me about his death, took that line—that it meant the loss of a personal friend."

" I scarcely think," said another, using in part almost identical words, " that any Prelate in our own Communion to-day has, to such a degree, the love and veneration of his Clergy and of his people ; and now he is nearer the Throne, offering more effectual prayers for the Church, and for us his children whom he loved."

One of the English lepers on Robben Island said to the Chaplain there :

I shall never forget his last visit to us. I seem to see him now, as he stood in my bedroom, whither I had taken him to show him some books (commentaries). He put his hand on my shoulder, and looked me in the face, and spoke so earnestly and tenderly.

A Priest of the Province, but one who did not belong to the Archbishop's own Diocese, after a testimony to his "dignified and kindly presence, so loving in gracious tact and sympathy, so gifted with practical wisdom in meeting difficulties, so courteously firm and strong in defence of Catholic Truth," adds the following words :

Above all he impressed every one of us with the reality of his spirit and life. He walked in the Light of the Lord. His intense reverence at the Altar, and in the discharge of the public duties of his office, was a force and power to be felt by all those to whom he ministered.

And when two others from the ranks of the Clergy in his own Diocese sum up their recollections of him, one writes :

If I were asked to say what I consider the chief thing in the life of our late beloved Archbishop I should say without hesitation—Love, pure love and kindness of heart. I shall never forget his many acts and expressions of love to me personally, and to all my family. . . . His love to the Church was wonderful. Every member had his share.

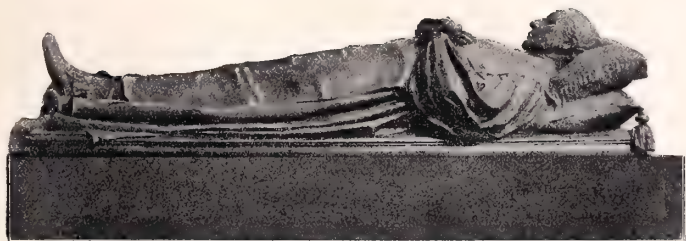
And the other, writing immediately after the Archbishop's death, says :

The Archbishop was so kind, so cheery, so fatherly, so full of spontaneous humour, so dignified, so wise, so brave in going on steadily with work, in spite of increasing infirmity, so wonderfully generous and munificent, so firm in maintaining principles, yet so courteous and charitable towards all that opposed themselves. We were so proud of him. The Church was always safe under his guidance. He would always represent her with that matchless dignity of his, whether within her Synods, or outside in the world. We all loved him, and all revered him.

Every Bishop, and, in a still higher degree, every Archbishop and Metropolitan of a Province, has three great duties laid upon him, in virtue of his Divinely given office. He is called to be, firstly, a Chief Shepherd, feeding a part of Christ's flock for Him, and ministering to the weak and to

the despised, as zealously as to the strong and to the attractive ; secondly, a Spiritual Judge in things pertaining to the soul, merciful but not remiss, as having hereafter to answer for himself and for them to the Great Judge of the spirits of all mankind ; thirdly, a Father to his children in the faith, teaching and ruling them for the One God and Father of all, with wisdom and with love. Truly it is a noble pattern of life and duty, far too noble to be completed in its entirety, even according to the standard of human perfection, by any one man ; for men's powers are limited, and one has one gift, one another, and none have all.

And yet, if some episcopates attain nearer to the fulfilment of this threefold pattern than others ; if some shine with brighter spiritual lustre for the multitude of the difficulties by the grace of God overcome ; for the length of years of zealous and effective work ; for an all-pervading spirit of humility, simplicity, and Christ-like love : among such, doubtless, will ever be numbered by general consent of those best qualified to form an opinion, the Episcopate of William West Jones, second Metropolitan of the Province of South Africa, and first Archbishop in the See of Capetown.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 1874 May 17. Consecration of William West Jones as Bishop of Capetown, and Metropolitan of South Africa.
Aug. 31. Arrival at Capetown.
- 1875 June 29–July 16. Capetown Diocesan Synod V.
- 1876 Jan. 25–Feb. 16. SECOND PROVINCIAL SYNOD.
- 1877 Aug. 18–Dec. 16. Metropolitan's Journey through five Dioceses of the Province.
- 1878 Feb. 2. Consecration of first Bishop of Pretoria (Bousfield) in England by Archbishop of Canterbury.
July. Lambeth Conference II.
- 1879 July 30–August 5. *Merriman v. Williams* in Diocesan Court of Grahamstown.
- 1880 June 29–July 16. Capetown Diocesan Synod VI.
Aug. 26. *Merriman v. Williams*: Judgement of Supreme Court of Cape Colony.
Nov. 30. Consecration of Bishop of Zululand (Douglas McKenzie) at Capetown.
- 1882 June 28. *Merriman v. Williams*: Judgement of Judicial Committee of Privy Council.
Aug. 16. Death of Dr. Merriman, Bishop of Grahamstown.
- 1883 Jan. 25–Feb. 10. THIRD PROVINCIAL SYNOD. Great debate on Third Proviso.
March 7. Bishop of Bloemfontein (Webb) elected Bishop of Grahamstown.
June 20. Death of Dr. Colenso.
Aug. 12. Consecration of Coadjutor Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria (Key), at Umtata.
Sept. 2. Bishop-Elect of Grahamstown (Webb) arrives in his new Diocese.
- 1884 June 28–July 18. Capetown Diocesan Synod VII. Defence of the Proviso.
- 1884–1885. Anti-Proviso Agitation in Capetown Diocese.
- 1886 Feb. 8–March 2. *Trinity Church Case*.
March 25. Consecration of Bishop of Bloemfontein (Knight-Bruce) in England by Archbishop of Canterbury.

- 1887 — Provincial Missionary Conference I. at Clydesdale.
Sept. 17–Oct. 5. Capetown Diocesan Synod VIII.
- 1888 Feb. 11. Opening of House of Mercy, Leliebloom.
July. Lambeth Conference III.
- 1890 Jan. 9. Death of Bishop of Zululand (Douglas McKenzie).
Sept. 20. Bank failure at Capetown.
- 1891 Jan. 24–Feb. 12. FOURTH PROVINCIAL SYNOD.
Translation of Bishop of Bloemfontein (Knight-Bruce) to
Missionary Bishopric of Mashonaland as first Bishop.
Sept. 26–Oct. 9. Capetown Diocesan Synod IX.
Sept. 29. Consecration of Bishop of Zululand (Carter) in
England by Archbishop of Canterbury.
December. Metropolitan visits Bloemfontein Diocese.
- 1892 April–May. Metropolitan visits city of Bloemfontein.
March 1. Resignation of Bishop of Maritzburg (Macrorie).
Sept. 21. Consecration of Bishop of Bloemfontein (Hicks) at
Capetown.
Oct 14–20. Provincial Missionary Conference II. at Queenstown.
Nov. 15. Arbitration Commission meets in Johannesburg, Diocese
of Pretoria.
Dec. 6. Elective Assembly of Capetown Diocese delegates to
Metropolitan the choice of a Coadjutor Bishop.
- 1893 Jan. 21–Feb. 20. The Metropolitan in Natal.
Sept. 29. Consecration of Bishop of Natal (Hamilton Baynes) in
England by Archbishop of Canterbury.
Nov. 5. Consecration of first Bishop of Lebombo (Smyth) at
Grahamstown.
- 1894 Sept. 29. Consecration of first Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown
(Gibson) at Capetown.
Oct 4–17. Capetown Diocesan Synod X.
Dec. 1. Benediction of new All Saints' Home, Kloof Road.
- 1895 April 25. Consecration of Bishop of Mashonaland (Gaul) at
Bloemfontein.
Oct. 19–24. Provincial Missionary Conference III. at Maritz-
burg.
- 1896 June 17. Wreck of *Drummond Castle*.
July 25. Opening of new St. Cyprian's School in Annandale
Street, Capetown.
- 1897 July. Lambeth Conference IV.
July 28. Additional title of Archbishop of Capetown adopted by
the Metropolitan.
- 1898 Jan. 13–20. Capetown Diocesan Synod XI. (Archbishop absent
in England).
Oct. 22–Nov. 9. FIFTH PROVINCIAL SYNOD.
- 1899 Jan. 6. Death of Bishop of St. Helena (Welby).
Jan. 12. Arbitration Court opens at Johannesburg, Diocese of
Pretoria.

- 1899 June 16-21. Case in Diocesan Court of St. Helena.
July 25. Consecration of Bishop of Grahamstown (Cornish) and Bishop of St. Helena (Holmes) at Capetown.
Oct. 11. Outbreak of South African War. Death of Bishop of Bloemfontein (Hicks).
- 1900 June 29. S.P.G. Bicentenary Meeting at Capetown.
Aug. 21-26. Institution of the "Order of Ethiopia."
- 1901 Jan. 12. Death of Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria (Key).
Jan. 22. Death of Queen Victoria.
April-July. Archbishop of Capetown in England on behalf of Capetown New Cathedral.
Aug. 4. Consecration of Bishop of Natal (Baines) at Capetown.
Aug. 22. Buttress stone of Capetown New Cathedral laid by H.R.H. the Duke of Cornwall and York (H.M. George V.).
Oct. 5-15. Capetown Diocesan Synod XII.
Nov. 30. Consecration of Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria (Williams), at Capetown.
- 1902 Feb. 2. Consecration of Bishop of Bloemfontein (Chandler) at Capetown.
Feb. 9. Death of Bishop of Pretoria (Bousfield).
Feb. 21-March 4. Archbishop in Pretoria Diocese.
March 26. Death of C. J. Rhodes.
May 31. End of South African War.
June 8. Peace Thanksgiving Service at Pretoria.
Sept. 29. Translation of Bishop of Zululand (Carter) to Pretoria.
- 1903 May 21. Consecration of Bishop of Zululand (Vyvyan) by Bishop of Pretoria (Carter) acting under commission from Archbishop of Capetown.
- 1904 Jan. 23-Feb. 10. SIXTH PROVINCIAL SYNOD.
April 26-Oct. 25. "Mission of Help."
June 29-July 19. Archbishop of Capetown visits Rhodesia.
Sept. 26. Death of Bishop of St. Helena (Holmes).
Nov. 12. Death of T. F. Lightfoot, Archdeacon of the Cape.
- 1905 June 24. Consecration of Bishop of St. Helena (Holbech) at Capetown.
Oct. 14-24. Capetown Diocesan Synod XIII.
Oct. 21. Seamen's Institute at Capetown opened.
- 1906 June 30. Resignation of Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown (Gibson) (Assistant Bishop July 1-Dec. 31).
Aug. 7-Oct. 17. Archbishop of Capetown's long journey to Dioceses of Grahamstown, Zululand, Natal, and St. John's.
Oct. 19-26. Provincial Missionary Conference IV. at Johannesburg.
Nov. 6. Elective Assembly of Capetown Diocese delegates to the Archbishop the choice of a Coadjutor Bishop.
- 1907 Feb. 24. Consecration of second Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown (Cameron) at Capetown.
Oct. 12-22. Capetown Diocesan Synod XIV.

- 1908 Feb. 24. Consecration of Bishop of Mashonaland (Powell) at Capetown.
 May 21. Death of William West Jones, Archbishop of Capetown, at Housel Bay, Cornwall.
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- 1908 June. Pan-Anglican Congress.
 July. Lambeth Conference V.
 Nov. 19. Elective Assembly at Capetown to fill the vacant See.
- 1909 Feb. 13-18. Provincial Missionary Conference V. at Bloemfontein.
 March. Dr. W. M. Carter, Bishop of Pretoria, translated to Archbishopric of Capetown.
 May 18. Elective Assembly of Capetown Diocese re-elects Dr. Cameron as Coadjutor Bishop.
 June 29. Consecration of Bishop of Pretoria (Furse) at Pretoria.
 Oct. 14-Nov. 2. SEVENTH PROVINCIAL SYNOD.
 Oct. 28. Consecration of Archbishop's Memorial Chapel in Capetown New Cathedral.
- 1910 Feb. 7. *Church Properties Act* (Natal) receives assent of the Governor of Natal.
 Oct. 1-11. Capetown Diocesan Synod XV.
- 1911 Jan. 1. Consecration of Assistant Bishop of Bloemfontein (Balfour) and Bishop of Mashonaland (Beaven) at Capetown.
 Sept. 29. Consecration of first Bishop of George (Sidwell) at Pretoria.
- 1912 June 29. Consecration of first Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman (Gore-Browne) at Bloemfontein.
 Oct. 19-28. Capetown Diocesan Synod XVI.
- 1913 Jan. 25. Consecration of Assistant Bishop of Natal (Roach) and Bishop of Lebombo (Fuller) at Maritzburg.
 Sept. 26. Dedication and opening of eastern part of Capetown New Cathedral.
 Nov. 5. Provincial Missionary Conference VI. meets at Johannesburg.

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PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA (12 Dioceses)—S. of Zambesi: Boundaries of Dioceses thus + + + +

Diocese of St. Helena (1859) includes St. Helena, 1,000 miles due W. of Gt. Fish B.; Ascension Island, 1,630 miles due W. of Ambriz; Tristan da Cunha, 1,500 miles S.W. of Cape Town.

Diocese of George (1911) now includes E. and S.E. of the old Diocese of Capetown and a small part of the Diocese of Grahamstown.

Diocese of Kimberley & Kuruman (1912) now includes Bechuanaland, also Prieska and Kenhardt Districts from N.E. of Diocese of Capetown.

UNIVERSITIES' MISSION (4 Dioceses)—N. of Zambesi: Boundaries of Dioceses thus -----

Note 1.—No part of the vast western region N. of the Orange R. is, as yet, included in any Diocese.

Note 2.—The only Railways shown are Cape to Cairo and Bulawayo to Beira, thus



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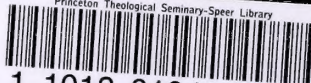
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